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Dr. HOUSTOUN'S MEMOIRS OF HIS OWN LIFE-TIME.

CONTAINING,
Among other *Curious Particulars*, during up-
wards of *Thirty Years* TRAVELS,

An Account of

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|--|---|
| I. The <i>Scotch</i> Settlement at <i>Darien</i> . | niards, and Manner of their Trade in the <i>West Indies</i> . |
| II. The great Advantages accruing to <i>Great Britain</i> from an <i>Incorporated UNION</i> of the Whole Island. | VI. The secret Expedition thither in 1740. |
| III. The Rise and Progress of the <i>Royal African</i> and <i>Affiento</i> Companies. | VII. Some Anecdotes of the Government of <i>Jamaica</i> , with the Characteristicks of its Inhabitants. |
| IV. The Rise and Fall of the grand <i>South Sea Bubble</i> , &c. in 1720. | VIII. The Importance of <i>Cape-Breton</i> to the <i>British</i> Nation. |
| V. The Conduct of the Spa- | IX. An Essay on <i>Genius</i> and Education. |

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and Publish'd by

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Humbly submitted to the impar-
tial Perusal of ALL

TRUE HEARTS

AND

SOUND BOTTOMS,

BY THE

The EDITOR,

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94

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Dr. HOUSTOUN'S
MEMOIRS
OF
HIS OWN LIFE-TIME.



DO not know, for I never thought it worth while to enquire, the Day nor Year I was born; but it must be some Time in, or about, the Year 1690. My Father was *George Houstoun* of *Johnstoun*, of a very ancient Family, *Houstoun* of *Houstoun*, Baronet, in *Renfrewshire*, *Scotland*, and my Mother was *Elizabeth Cunningham*,

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of

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of the Family of *Craigends*, in the same Shire, a Branch of the most antient and noble Family of *Glencairn*.

THE Custom of that Country is, the eldest Son inherits the whole paternal Estate, and the rest of the Children are thrown upon the World, with little or nothing but Education, which, in my humble Opinion, is as good, and more easily acquired in that Country, than in any other Part of *Great Britain*. I have heard my Mother say, that I was the youngest of fifteen Children, so nothing fell to my Share but my Education, which, I must acknowledge, was as liberal as that Country could afford; and afterwards I went to *Holland* and *France* for a further Improvement in my Studies.

GENIUS appears in the most natural and lively Colours in Youth, before the Understanding has formed itself strong enough to dissemble; it very early exerted itself with me in *Pride* and *Ambition*,
epi-

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 3

epidemically inherent in the Blood, and concomitant with all *Scotsmen*, only turning and exerting itself into different Shapes; which has been observed by the most accurate Observators; “The *Scots*, says the learned *Puffendorf*, are very apt to propose to themselves great Matters; and to delight in their own Inventions.”

M. Mesnager, in his *Memoirs of the four last Years of Queen Anne's Reign*; says of the late great *John Duke of Argyll*; “That he had too much of the *Scot*-man in him; to submit more to any Man than he could help; and too much Sense to be wanting to obtain any Thing to gratify his Ambition.”

ONE Major *Smith*, a Gentleman of undoubted Honour and Credit, told me; That, on a Journey from *London* to *Edinburgh*, he travelled two Stages without even a Servant, when he chanced to break his Stirrup-leather, and, espying a Fellow at some Distance a-hedging, he call'd him to ask his Assistance. The Fellow, in
B 2 a very

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a very submissive and obliging Manner, ran half a Mile for an Awl and Pack-thread, and then mended the Stirrup-leather; upon which the Major put his Hand in his Pocket, and gave the Man Six-pence, for which he was very thankful. When the Major was mounting his Horse, he desired him to hold the Stirrup;—*Na, Na*, says the Fellow, *my Name is Campbell, Sir, and I wonna haud any Mon's Stirrop in England.* *

KING James himself, the First of England, had a great deal of Scotch Blood in him, but I am afraid it was intermixed with worse, which contaminated the Blood of the whole Race 'till meliorated again by Intermarriages.—*True Scotch Blood from the King to the Cobler!*

It is surprisingly remarkable, and astonishing to the whole World, that, of all Nations, the *British* are the most industrious and careful in a right Breed of their Cattle,

* The Major was a *Scotsman* himself, and approv'd of the Fellow's Answer greatly; and gave him another Six-pence for it.

Cattle, Horses, Dogs, and the most negligent of their own Breed from the Highest to the Lowest.

“ PRIDE (says an accurate Searcher in-
“ to human Nature) is that natural Facul-
“ ty, by which every Mortal, that has any
“ Understanding, over-values, and ima-
“ gines better Things of himself than any
“ impartial Judge, thoroughly acquainted
“ with all his Qualities and Circum-
“ stances, can allow him.” Then I add,
expecting and demanding a greater Regard
and Respect than is justly due to his real
Merit.

“ WE are possessed of no other Qua-
“ lity so beneficial to Society, (when it
“ exerts itself rightly) and so necessary to
“ render it wealthy and flourishing as
“ this; yet it is that which is most ge-
“ nerally detested, and the prouder a
“ Man is, *i. e.* the more Esteem he has
“ for himself, the greater is his Dread of
“ Shame; & *vice versâ*; and as this Fear
“ of Shame is more or less, so it fur-
“ mounts

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“ mounts, or gives way to other Fears,
“ and sometimes we see it gets the better
“ of the greatest of all Fears, even Death
“ itself, as in Duelling and Suicide.”

THE witty Lord *Rochester* likewise very justly observes, that every Mortal would be a Coward if he durst, for no Man of Honour dares be a Coward, he must either part from his Honour, or his Cowardice; and, if I am rightly informed, by my Lord *Shaftsbury* and the Duke of *Buckingham*, the latter was more prevalent with his Lordship than the former, so that he durst be a Coward.

THIS is strongly exemplified in what they call *Scotch Pride*, or *Spanish Punto*, which is much the same Thing, but exerts itself in different Manners, for both are actuated by the same Motive.

Pride has got

Ambition for her first Born;

Hope is a younger Child;

Positiveness is of the same Family; and

Resolution is near a-kin, but she has got

Understanding for her Parent.

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of his Own LIFE-TIME. 7

“THAT Strength, or Stoutness of
“Heart, depending on the animal Func-
“tions, is commonly call’d *Courage* or *Va-*
“*lour*, but that Strength or Vigour of
“Mind, which depends on the animal Spi-
“rits, is called *Resolution*; the first com-
“mon to the Vulgar, the other very un-
“common, but more inherent in the
“Great; Strength of Mind is infinitely
“more requisite for great Actions than
“Stoutness of Heart.” Cardinal de *Rbetz*.

AMBITION was the ROCK that I so
often split on, in the Course of my *Life-*
time, with hundreds more, to my certain
Knowledge, and thousands of thousands
who will not so ingenuously confess it; not-
withstanding I acknowledge to steer near
this is right Navigation in the Course of
Life, if you can keep clear of the ROCK;
tho’ this was the very ROCK the Royal
Family of *Stuarts* struck on, which they
too severely felt, and paid for, to their
fatal Experience by its Consequences.

Fœlix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

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OF all History I have always had the greatest Pleasure, Satisfaction, and Edification from *Memoirs of Lives*, especially when wrote by the Persons themselves, from *Cæsar's Commentaries* to *Colley Cibber's Life*, for it is impossible, even for the best Limner, to draw a just Picture to the Likeness, unless the Original is the Object of his Senses. It is true, all Actions in human Life, especially the glorious Transactions of the Great, are the Object of our Senses, but none know the original Source and secret Springs of those Actions and Transactions but the Actor himself. I must own, that *Vanity*, which every mortal is possessed of, more or less, naturally leads us to be partial to ourselves; but this is sufficiently counter-balanced, by Honour, Sincerity, and Truth, and, in my humble Opinion, every Man of tolerable Understanding, with common Honour and Honesty, is the fittest Man to write his *own Memoirs*; for he certainly knows more of himself, than others can possibly know of him.

Mas

Mas save loco en su Casa, que cuerdo en agena.

THERE is great Pleasure and Satisfaction in ruminating on the former Passages and remarkable Transactions in Life, and the useful Reflections from Reading them over in a more advanced Age, as *Martial* says in his second Book,

Hoc est vivere bis, vitâ posse priore frui.

BUT if these indigested Conceptions should chance to be brought into the World, naked as they are, as my posthumous Works, and the Reader don't like such low-life Stuff, he may let them alone, for I can assure him, they never were designed for his Pleasure or Satisfaction, only for my own; knowing the Veracity of the Facts related, I don't want to enforce them to others.

BUT, as Example is infinitely stronger than Precept, I shall begin with my very Childhood; when I was in my
very

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very young and tender Years, I was my Mother's Favourite more than any of the rest of my Brothers and Sisters. I suppose from her innate Goodness, and Piety to nurse up a tender Child, with great Care, that otherwise must have infallibly perished; and she continued her Favours to me 'till the Day of her Death. The rest of the Children envy'd and twitted me with this Happiness; and, when they found a fit Opportunity to shew their Spite and Resentment, they used to give me a Knock or two for it, I was above making Complaints, when I knew they would be severely whipt for it: But they came over me another Way, not thro' Design, but by mere Accident, they catch'd me fairly in my own Way: My Father used to give all the Children a little Money from time to time, except myself: When we Children got together, they shewed me their Money, and upbraided me for Want. I knew very well how they came by it, bore a strong Resentment against my Father for not giving me any, and was resolved to be up
with

of his Own LIFE-TIME. II

with him, as soon as possibly I could find a fit Opportunity. I could not then be above six Years of Age, which I remember as well as yesterday, being a remarkable Passage in that Part of Life. Though I had not the least Notion of the Use of Money, yet my *Vanity* led me to be even with, if not out-do them: Accordingly, when my Father was receiving his Rents from his Tenants, I was wholly taken up in accomplishing my Design, which I dexterously enough executed, by securing the fairest Piece of Money I could set my Eyes on, a new coined Forty-pence Piece, in the great Bible, without my Father's Discovery, or having the least Suspicion of it; which I concealed for some time, 'till my natural Temper, and Bent to *Vanity*, made me discover myself, and brag, that I had more Money than all of them put together. They put me to a Defiance, by producing their Money. I readily betrayed myself, by producing my Piece, which they made a Handle of, to lead me into a most terrible Scrape. My Father called for me, but, by all

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all his Threats and Punishments for some Weeks running, he could never learn, or get any satisfactory Answer, how I came by that Money. But the Moment my Mother asked me, I told her the whole Truth, with my Inducements and Reasons for what I had done, an *Emulation* not to be out-done in any Thing by the rest of the Children, and gave the Piece of Money directly on my own accord to her, which no Punishment could have extorted from me otherwise : For I knew no Crime in the taking of it, as I thought myself justly intitled to it, since my Father had given all my Brothers and Sisters Money, and me none ; which verifies the Saying, *That some may be easily led that cannot be drove*, according to the natural Disposition of the Person ; for *Nature* is unalterable in itself ; it may indeed be new modelled by Education, but there's nothing more sure than, *What's bred in the Bone seldom comes out of the Flesh*.

I was taught the Rudiments of Learning by my Father's Chaplain, who was a
very

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very good *Latin* Scholar; and understood the *Greek* Language very well? He was afterwards Master of the Grammar-school of *Pasley*, where I was put under his Care.

I HAD a certain Vivacity and Quickness of Apprehension, and an easy Conception, with a Readiness of Answering; amongst all the Boys, peculiar only to myself, but I never had any Memory, (*Wits have no Memory!*) which gave me a Rank amongst the first and best of the Scholars, tho' I was no ways entitled to it, for there was amongst them many better Scholars than myself; what Learning they had got was substantial, mine was mostly Appearance, seen thro' a Magnifying Glass: However it fell out, I was classed amongst the first, pickt out from the best Scholars in the School, and had Self-conceit enough to fancy it was thro' my own Merit. Our grand Competition was once a Week, to dispute for *Dux* of the Class, which I frequently carried from a superior Antagonist, thro' mere Dint of Forwardness: But, when I was worsted, nothing could vex me more

grie-

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grievously, the only Incentive and Motive that could possibly make me apply to my Studies, and what I know of Learning I owe entirely to this Cause; for whipping would never do. My Master used to tell me, *Quos amo castigo*: But I only bore him a boyish Spite for it, and played him twenty arch Tricks, too trifling to repeat: Had it not been for this *Emulation* and *Contention* I never should have made any Proficiency at School, nor even known the very Rudiments of Learning; for which Reason a publick School is infinitely preferable to private Teaching.

Of all Professions and Employments in the World a School-master for Teaching of Youths is of the greatest Importance to Mankind; for, next to the great Creator, he has the Formation of them; a great *Genius* may be crushed in the Bud, and die; a little *Genius* may be cultivated to a good Growth, and live; which, without great Care, would have perished: In short, he makes the *Man*: As you may see in the *Introductory Essay on Genius and Education*. M u c h

Much about this Time there was a Project on foot in Scotland of settling a Colony on the *Isthmus* of *Darien*, near *Panama* and *Porto-bello*, which reaches from the South to the North Seas in *America*. I have travelled from *Porto-bello* to *Panama* on a Mule; it is about three Days Journey, the most damned out of the way Road that ever I saw in my whole Life-time; I take it to be about thirty (tho' commonly called only twenty) Leagues; but there is a much nearer Cut thro' the Woods, which *Spanish* Policy will not allow to be opened, but keeps this almost unpassable Road open, as a Defence for *Panama* and the Inland Country from the North Seas; which Policy stood them in good stead at the Time of the *British* Expedition designed against *Panama*, in the Year 1742. I have been told by one of my Predecessors, *Mr. Bacon*, in the Company's Service, that he has travelled thro' the Woods with his Boy, Gun and Dog from *Panama* to *Porto-bello* in less than thirty six Hours; and I was credibly informed, that the King's Courier has done

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it in twenty four Hours ; but it is Death by the King's Edict, for any one else to venture on this Road, or to clear any Ground for a Road, only Leave is given to cut down a little Brush-wood for Firing round the Town of *Porto-bello*. There's likewise a Passage up the River *Chagre* within ten Leagues of *Porto-bello*, with a good landing Place in a champaign Country within five or six Leagues of *Panama*. There are many large and convenient Rivers in *Darien* navigable, as I was told, within a few Leagues of the *South-Sea*, a most convenient and advantageous Situation for Commerce. This Expedition made a very great Noise in *Scotland*, as it was a national Affair separate from *England*. I have read all that our History says concerning it, by different Hands, and had a particular Account of it, from an intimate Acquaintance of mine, Don *Juan de Herrera*, his *Catholick Majesty's* Chief Engineer, at *Carthagena* in *America*, who was the very Person that went with the King of *Spain's* Express Order to repel Force by Force ; which original Instructions from the Court of *Madrid*

I have

I have seen, but they were gone before his Arrival at *Darien*: And I verily believe, that the King of *Spain* would have risked his whole *West-Indies*, rather than acquiesced to the Settlement of this Colony, which must necessarily have made a Rupture betwixt *England* and *Spain*, the Consequences of which might have put all *Europe* in a Flame, therefore neither prudent nor convenient for the King of *England* at that critical Time. In short, by all that I can learn, I conceive this Expedition to have been originally an immature Conception of my Countrymen, without duly considering the Consequences, and so proved an abortive Birth; and the Truth of this Conjecture appears, when the united Force of *Great Britain*, at War with *Spain*, in the Years 1739 and 1740, took the Harbour, Castles and Town of *Portobello*, and the Harbour of *Carthagena* with all its strong Castles, they did not think it right Policy to maintain and support them, which they could very easily have done with a small Garrison; but they only demolish'd and razed them to the very Ground, and left

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the Harbours open as formerly, without any Shipping; I suppose this was for fear of offending, and embroiling ourselves in War with the rest of the Powers of *Europe*: Whereas it is certain, had they garrisoned these Castles, instead of demolishing them, with 800 or 1000 Men, which they then could have easily spared, and kept two Line of Battle Ships always in the Harbour, relieved from time to time, with proper Provisions, Stores, &c. for the Garrison from *Jamaica*, which would have been a sufficient Force for any Attack the *Spaniards* could possibly have raised against them at that Time; by these Means they might have had an entire Command of the Towns of *Carthagena*, and, *Porto-Bello* being in their Possession, consequently of all the Trade of those inland Countries, exclusive of all other Nations, during the War; and, on a Peace with *Spain*, might have received a valuable Consideration for delivering them up, perhaps equivalent to the Expences of the whole War in the *West-Indies*.

My

My Politics in these Affairs go no further than what I have seen and heard from the Actors themselves, and I do confess their Conduct did raise very strange Notions in my Mind, Why the *Scots* should be angry with the *English* for obstructing their Settlement of *Darien*, when they see that they won't do it themselves, though they have it in their Power and Possession by right of War? But the *Scots* took Possession contrary to the Tenour of all Treaties, when we had a profound Peace with *Spain*. Or what the real and substantial Reasons were, that they did not embrace that Opportunity? And what were the Reasons, that *England* paid *Scotland* an Equivalent, at the HAPPY UNION of the two Nations, for the Loss the *Scots* sustained by the *Darien* Settlement, when they will not settle it themselves? *

I REMEMBER when the Noise of this *Caledonian* Settlement was spread all over *Scotland*, I was a mere Child, not above

* See Letter, Number I. in the Appendix.

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eight Years of Age ; but, from my very Infancy, I had a strange Itch and Curiosity for Rambling and seeing the World, which continued with me all my Life-time. Tho' at those Years of Infancy it was impossible for me to form any Notion where I should go, I asked my Mother, *If she would give me leave to go to Caledonia ?* The good old Lady answered me with tender Love and Affection, (being a very weakly Child, occasioned by the *Rickets*) *Pray, Child, mind your Book.*

FROM the Grammar-School of *Pasley* I went to the *University of Glasgow*, where I studied, or, as I may rather say, diverted myself for five Years. The *first* Year at the College, they teach the *Latin* Classics, which they call the *Hen* or *Humanity* Class. Our *Professor* (or *Regent*, as he is called there) understood his Profession exceedingly well ; but was a little upon the volatile Taste, and wanted to infuse lofty Notions into his Disciples of the Grandeur and Magnificence of the old *Romans*. I remember he told us, “ That there was “ more Money expended, and more Men employed

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“ employed in cleaning a common Sewer
“ in *Rome*, than all the Charges and Num-
“ ber of Men, in the whole confederate
“ Army, amounted to under the great
“ Duke of *Marlborough* :” But I don’t
remember to have read any such Account
in *Roman* Authors. However, it took
with me, for I liked much to hear Stories,
and read of the Exploits of the Ancients :
And this Year I passed with Profit and
Pleasure.

THE next Year they teach the *Greek*
Tongue, or the *Bajon* Class; in which I
made but a very small Proficiency; for
the Study of a dead Language was too dry
for me at that Time; so that I never
knew so much of the *Greek* Language as
to be Master of any Author; yet I divided
my Time this Year betwixt the *Humanity*
and *Bajon* Classes.

THE third Year they teach *Logics*,
or the *Semi-Class* : But I never had any
Taste for this Sort of Learning; and in-
deed I very soon conceived an utter Ab-

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horrence to the Reasoning by way of *Syllogism*; even so far, that, when we were obliged to dispute one with another, according to the Rules laid down to us in this Method, and it came to my Turn, I endeavoured, as far as in me lay, to turn it into mere Ridicule, without observing any Rule at all: And sometimes our Professor, who was always the Umpire of the Dispute, was pleased with my out-of-the-way Reasoning, without observing their Method of Forms and Figures; yet, methinks, I am at no Loss now for the Want of this Part of Learning; All my Reasoning came *à propria Pharetra*.

THE *fourth* Year they taught *Metaphysics*, or the *Batchelor* Class, and *Ethics*. To the first I had an equal Aversion, as to *Logics*; but the last I was a little better reconciled to. We read *Puffendorf de Officio Hominis & Civis*: But by this time I had pickt up three or four of the clearest young Fellows, as I thought, of the whole College for my intimate Comrades, and

and we were early initiated to all the Pleasures of the *Beau Monde*, Whoring, Drinking, Gaming, and gallanting the Ladies; and at these Diversions I was as forward, and made as good an Appearance as any of my Comrades. We were looked upon by the grave, hypocritical, and enthusiastical People of *Glasgow*, as profligate, wicked young Fellows; whereas the more penetrating and knowing Part of them, but all the young Ladies particularly had Goodness enough to impute our Gallantry only to Sallies and Flights of Youth, which riper Age with Experience might correct.

AT the same Time I must acknowledge, we went such Lengths, that, had they come to my Parents Ears, who were strict *Presbyterians*, very rigid in their religious Forms, and not at all acquainted with the Ways of the World, I should have forfeited my Mother's Favour, and been disgraced and banished their Presence; but I had such a Flow of Spirits at that Age, that nothing could

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have checked, or controuled them, but stopping my Vitals.

I ALWAYS lodged in the College with the *Library Keeper*, who made me his Companion in all respects. He was a Man of Letters and good Sense; and afterwards married my Sister) a compleat Judge of my Capacity, and perfectly well acquainted with my Humour, and gave me his Advice by way of Friendship, and not that of Superiority, or Command; otherwise I should have despised him, and his Advice too. One Day he delivered himself thus to me;
“ As you have Time enough (said he)
“ free from your College hours, suppose
“ you and I took a Course of *Mathematics* and *experimental Philosophy*? You
“ know young *Wilson*, who is very capable of performing that Course; we'll
“ make him come to our Chambers every
“ Day, at the Hour you'll please to appoint; it will cost us but four Guineas, which we'll find Ways and Means
“ to make your Father pay for; and we
“ shall

“ shall have the free Use of the College
“ Library, and their *Mathematical Instru-*
“ *ments.*” The Manner of proposing it,
by putting himself upon the same Footing
of Learning with me, took extreamly
well I greedily went into the kind
Proposal with infinite Pleasure, and spent
two or three Hours a-day, four Days in
a Week, in these Studies, during my Stay
in the College, which did me more Ser-
vice and Profit than all the Learning I
had in the College besides; and I had such
Satisfaction in these Studies, that I even
would have left my Pleasures in the *Beau*
Monde, to attend them at the accustomed
Hours, when I seldom or never attended
the College-hours, except to answer the
Call of the *publick Catalogue* of the whole
College.

THE *fifth* and last Year they teach *Phy-*
sics or the *Magistran* Class. I had no great
Inducement to study here, for they taught
John Clerc's Physics, and I was then read-
ing *Samuel Clerc's Physics*, a much better
System. All the Students in this Class
are

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are obliged to make a publick Oration in the common Hall, before the Professors and the whole College, every one in his Turn: When it came to my Turn, I chose for my Subject,

De veritate investiganda:

Wherein I asserted, " That no rational
" Creature could believe more than what
" was consistent with, and agreeable to
" his Reason: And that it was absolutely
" impossible for any rational Creature to
" believe what is contradictory to that
" Reason the Author of Nature has given
" him." Truth may be concealed for want of Capacity to discover it, but of itself it is unalterably the same; as for Example, I am told, *That the Square of the Hypothenuse of a rectangular Triangle is equal to the Squares of the other two Sides:* This is Truth, but I want Capacity to discover it; I consult *Euclid*, who, by laying down plain Axioms, obvious to my Senses, and agreeable to my Reason, and, going on from one natural Consequence to

to another, equal to my Capacity and agreeable to my Reason, demonstrates and convinces me, that this is Truth; it is so, must be so, and cannot possibly be otherwise; but if this Mr. *Euclid* had began with his Axioms, *Two and three are equal to Six; one is three, and three are one, &c.* I should have stopt here, and said, *This is contradictory to the Reason the Author of Nature has given me; for my Reason dictates to me, That two and three are equal to five; and one is only ONE; and three are triple the Number.*

I LIKEWISE asserted in that Oration, "That what was more or less beneficial
" to Society, was more or less virtuous;
" and *vice versa*, what was more or less
" detrimental to Society, was more or less
" vicious; and that *This* was the only
" *Virtue (Good)* and *Vice (Bad)* in the
" World." I endeavoured, under this
Cloak, to conceal and excuse my own
Vices, as much as I could not being detrimental to Society.

THESE

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THESE must be innate Ideas, or the Dictates of my own Reason ; for I do now solemnly declare, at that Time they were not borrowed either from Men or Books. However our *Gymnasiarcha* (*Principal*, as they called him) ordered me to come down from the *Rostrum* and very angrily took my Oration from me, of which I have no Copy to insert here, and confined me to my Chambers. Next Day there was a Meeting, (a *Faculty*, as they called it) in order to consult, Whether or not I should be extruded the College? as my Oration struck at the *holy Mysteries of our Religion*, and was for the *Encouragement of Vice*.

My *Professor* sent for me that Evening, and told me my Lord Pollock, *Rector Magnificus*, of the University, and one of the *Senators* of the College of Justice, said, “ He
 “ knew my Parents ; that they bred up
 “ all their Children in right Principles,
 “ and in the Fear of the Lord ; so he
 “ could not think that I meant any Thing
 “ against our *Holy Religion* :” And my Pro-
 fessor

feffor was pleased to say, " That the Ingenuity of the Oration made some Apology for some odd and out-of-the-way Expressions and Notions." So thro' their Merit I was saved. But our Principal insisted, that I should make another Oration, by way of *Recantation*. This made a great Noise in the University, and was the subject Matter of Conversation amongst every Body that had the least Smattering of Learning, which gave me an Opportunity of improving my Thoughts, and digesting them into a new Model, in which I divided all *Mankind* into *two Classes*. The *first* and *lowest*, but by far the greatest and most useful Part, are governed by the first and strongest Law of Nature, *Self-love* and *Preservation*. They answer this End entirely, by the Force of Labour and Industry, so as to provide sufficiently for the Preservation of themselves and Progeny; and those Creatures, we call irrational, act on the very same Dictates of Nature, to provide for the Preservation of themselves and young ones.

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THE *second* and *highest* are *Ambitious* to excel the rest of their Fellow-creatures; and in this Class enter the three grand Professions *Divinity*, *Law*, and *Physick*, which they acquire, by improving their *Genius* thro' Education, so as to arrive by a superior Judgment and Knowledge, to be able to discover and distinguish *Truth* from *Falshood*. This is the Origin of the *Superiority* of one over another, and the Cardinal Point on which all Politicks both in *Church* and *State* move, in order to keep the World in *Ignorance* and *Awe*; so that the *last* may only prey on the *first*, and so I went on.

*To investigate Truth; and
Detect vulgar Errors.*

IN short I was to new model a World, that I then could not possibly know any Thing at all of, and form a *Religion* perfectly new for myself, which I may call *Natural Religion*; for I am sure it could not be *Artificial*, because I knew of none, but what I read of, amongst the
antient

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 31

antient Greeks and Romans, and what I heard at Glasgow. I must own I liked neither, which put me upon this new Invention owing to the Fertility of my own Brain; and, lucky it was for me that my *Recantation* never was heard, or else, I dare say, it would have fared worse for me with our *Principal* than at first; and if my Parents ever heard any Thing of these Embroils, they were so discrete as never to mention them.—I concluded with this infallible Maxim,

Magna est Veritas et praevalabit.

And then added,

Sed qui vult decipi, decipiatur.

DURING the whole Course of my *Life-time*, I have always had a great Aversion and Abhorrence to all MYSTERIES in any Profession whatever, as a mere Imposition on Mankind: And I have always opposed, and endeavoured to the utmost of my Power, as far as was consistent with

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with my own Safety, to expunge them from the Professions, and to establish TRUTH in their Room; as the only certain Rule for rational Creatures to govern themselves by.

I REMEMBER one Father *Burke*, an *Irish Roman Catholick Priest*, who was Chaplain to Don *Francisco Cornejo*, General of the *Galleons* in the *Spanish West-Indies*, in the Years 1726, 1727, &c. whom we made our Bottle-companion in the Factories of *Carthagera* and *Portobello*, as being a Sort of Country Man, (born a Subject of the King of *Great Britain*) but very *Teaguisb*, one Day, discoursing about the *Reformation* in *England*, it was asserted, that even the *Clergy* were very instrumental in bringing about the *Reformation*, and that the *Protestant Bishops* had made very bold Stands for the Support of it: *Oh! my Faith then!* (said Father *Burke*) *I am greatly surpris'd, that the Clergy should be for the Reformation; for I am sure, where they make a Penny of Jesus, since the Reformation,*
they

they made a Pound of Him before the Re-
formation.

O The Holy Father spoke great Truth!

POPE Leo X. says,

*Quantas nobis Divitias comparavit ista
de Christo Fabula?*

THE Emperor Frederick II. frequently
said,

*Tres fuisse Insignes Impostores, qui genus
Humanum seduxerunt.*

I HAVE read Ochinus's History of the
Three Impostors; and do not like it at all;
but the great Mischiefs and direful Cala-
mities by dreadful and horrid Persecutions,
arising from Multiplicity of different O-
pinions, and the Disputes about them,
have cost the World more Blood and
Treasure, than all the whole Villanies in
the World accumulated, which has obliged
me to chuse,

A CREED of my own.

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AND

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AND, ever since I have been capable of knowing and distinguishing what Government was, I have been fixt in my Opinion, that mixt Government, as now established by the *British* Constitution, is the best.

I HAVE read all the Models and Frames of Government by the *Ancients*, *Chinese*, *Grecian*, and *Roman*, and I have lived under, and felt the Effects of all the principal different Kinds of our modern Governments; *absolute Monarchy*, *mixt Government*, and *Common-wealth*, and the longer I have lived, by Experience I have learnt, and impartially say, in my humble Opinion, "That Government which
" gives the *largest Scope*, for their *King*
" to be the *best and greatest of Kings*, at
" the same Time limits and restrains
" him from being the *worst*, and pre-
" serves the *Liberty and Property* of the
" *Subject*, is the best of all Governments."

Such is the *Jure Divino* King of *Great Britain*, by hereditary Right, and no farther;

farther; for the *Oaths of Coronation, Supremacy and Allegiance*, as altered, regulated and fixed by Act of Parliament, in the first Session of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, are a reciprocal Contract, and mutual Covenant, between the King and his Subjects; the Counterpart of this Covenant being broke on either Side, the Contract is void of course; for, by this Breach the King on one Side may *unking* himself, and the Subjects on t'other Side may *out-law* themselves. The Bulwark of the *British Privileges*, and *Magna Charta* is the Basis of all: Such is the mixed and limited Government of *Great-Britain*, the best in the whole World, with this Amendment, *That the House of Lords should be limited, and fixed to a certain Number*; and in the Election of Members to represent the Commons, *Votes ought only to go in Proportion to Property*, and no farther; the Quintessence of *Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy. THREE IN ONE.* And, during the whole Course of my *Life-time*, I have always

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ways mortally abhorred and hated all
PRIEST-CRAFT, KING-CRAFT,
STATE-CRAFT, and ALL CRAFT,
but HANDY-CRAFT: For,

Priests of all Religions are the same! And

So are Statesmen!

Only differing in Proportion to the
Power and Authority they are invested
with: Witnessed by the Testimonies of
Cardinal *de Rhetz* and Father *Paul*, and
strongly exemplified by the Practice of
our *Courtiers* and *Patriots*, *Whigs*, and
Tories, whilst in, and out of Place;

No general Rule without an Exception.

IN the Intervals, during the Vacancies
of the College, I went to my Father's
House in the Country, where I met a
young Lady, with my Sisters, a Cousin
of ours, politely bred up in the Female
Beau Monde, well vers'd in *Romances* and
Plays, and well acquainted with *modern In-*
trigues: Her Conversation soon inspired
me, adorn'd with lofty and refined Notions
of

of Love and Gallantry. This Lady fair entertained and encouraged me, I fancy, more for her *Amusement*, than any other Design; for she had by much the Advantage of me, who was a mere *Novice in Amours*: However that might be, we continued our *Amour* for some Years; and when absent by epistolary Correspondence; and she wrote me Letters, that *Cleopatra* herself needed not to have been ashamed of; which put me upon my Metal to answer them, and made me dip a little into a Field, that otherwise would have lain quite uncultivated; by which I received both Profit and Pleasure.

DURING this *Amour*, I fell deeply in Love with another young Lady of *Glasgow* who was exceeding beautiful in her Person; but silly in Conversation. Here all my intimate Comrades were engaged; yet she used to distinguish me, with her mannerly Favours, from amongst all the rest, which raised my *Vanity* to such a Height, and encreased my *Love* to such

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a Degree, that nothing but Time could possibly rub out the Impression.

THE great Miss *Griz. Bl--r* was a young Lady of incomparable good Sense, Wit and Humour; and very learned in her own Way, Romances, Plays, Poetry, the Classics in *English*; but of no great Beauty.

THE other Miss *Is. D--gl--fs* was a young Lady of extraordinary Beauty, especially in my Eyes, but of no great Understanding; yet all she said and did seemed witty and pleasant to me; the distinguishing Freedoms she used with me in publick Company, greatly fed and supported my Conceit; which went greater Lengths in private, even as far as Virtue allowed: So that nothing but the great Regard and Adoration I had for her, could have prevented our Ruin in Matrimony, or something worse, more foolish, and childish, if possible; but if I had been Master of 20,000 l. she should have been
Mistress

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 39

Mistress of all, at any Stage of my *Life-time*: A sure Sign of *True-blind Love*.

*She had no Faults, or I no Faults could spy,
She was all Beauty, or all Blindness I.*

SPECTATORS.

HENCE I observed that Beauty was more imaginary than real, as it depends more on the Shadow than the Substance.

A quick Conception and easy Delivery makes

WIT:

*A clear Understanding and sound Judgment
makes WISDOM.*

MUCH about this Time the *happy Union* of the two Nations, was concluded and ratified; the immortal Glory of Queen *Anne's* Reign; the principal Managers of which great Transaction ought to have had their Names handed down to Posterity in indelible Characters of Gold.

AT that Time I could be no competent Judge of this Affair; but I heard much Talk of the *Antiquity* and *Independency* of the Crown of *Scotland*, and it was fo-

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mented by the *frenchified Jacobite Party*,
to serve as a *Bug-bear* for the Populace.
I remember to have seen several Mobs
going about, and calling out *No Union!*
No incorporated Union! *No Slaves to Eng-*
land! And these Mottos they wore as
Cockades in their Hats, Bonnets, and
pinned to their Breasts. I have read the
Speeches made by the Opponents to the
Union in Parliament, and methinks all
flow from the same Source, a glaring Show
with *French Tinsel*.

I HAVE had long Experience of the
English Settlements and Colonies in *Africa*
and *America*, and the Trade thereof; and
I dare venture to say, at a modest Com-
putation, that the Advantages accruing to
Scotland from the *Liberty* and *Freedom* of
Trade, since the *Union*, to the forefaid
Settlements and Colonies, if they had been
rightly managed and industriously im-
proved, might have amounted to a greater
Sum than the Value of the *whole Property*
of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

I HAVE heard *George Ballie*, of *Jer-viswood*, Esq; when he was one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury of *Great Britain*, who was a Gentleman very exact in all his Accompts and Calculations, say, "That the Port of *Glasgow* was then "the third Sea-port Town of *Great Bri-* "tain, for the Crown Revenues arising "from Trade."

It is true, that you may hear a general Complaint, even amongst the knowing and trading Part of *Scotland*; which I rather take to be a *Cant Word* crept in amongst them, that they have not *Stock* to carry on Trade; which entirely proceeds from their own Fault; for, as soon as they can scrape up together a little Money, by Care and Industry, they knock off Trade and turn *Lairds*, at the only Time they are able and fit for carrying on Trade to Advantage, so as to deserve the honourable Name of a *Merchant*. A bad Custom which is a great Draw-back on a trading Country; for, by laying out their Money on a landed Interest, they really want Mo-

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ney to employ in Proportion to the *Trade* they might carry on with all the Advantages of his Majesty's Subjects of *South Britain*, and even with some *additional Immunities and Liberties.*

AND the Advantages accruing to *England* are reciprocal, from the additional Number of Hands by the *Union*; for it is a known and true Maxim, *That the Riches of all trading Countries depend entirely on the Number of their Hands*; and it is more particularly so, when those very Hands, that are now *for* them, were the same Hands, as History tells us, that were always made use of against them, by the *French*, to molest and hurt the *English*, now their own Vitals; and to support the natural and inveterate Enemies of both Nations: For the *Disunion* of these two Nations, whom Nature seems to have united, methinks, is like an animal Body with one of its principal Members diseased, which if not timely cured, must infallibly turn into a *Gangrene*, wherein there is no Remedy but *Amputation*;

tation ; and, in such a desperate Operation, the whole Body must be in eminent Danger of perishing : So every *true Briton* has Reason to thank God, that the Body has now got a strong and vigorous Constitution, and sound in all its Members ; and I wish from the Bottom of my Soul, that it may long continue so, under the Care of skilful Physicians ; for no-body can be a competent Judge of the Happiness enjoyed under a *British Constitution*, but he who has seen and felt the Misery under other Governments.

For my own part, I heartily thank God I was a *free-born* Subject of the Island of *Great Britain*, the two Nations now united in one Monarchy, limited by our *constitutional Laws*, under *one Parliament*, with a mutual Communication of Trade and Privileges : The Distinction and Names of *English* and *Scots* quite obliterated, the whole Island called *Great Britain*, and all the Inhabitants thereof, by one common Name, re-assuming the Name of the antient primitive Natives, *BRITONS* ;
which

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which the *Welsh* are most properly entitled to, as lineal Descendants from them : All, I hope, incorporated as well in Mind as Constitution, for ever and ever : For those who want to raise and foment Differences and Animosities between his Majesty's Subjects of *South* and *North Britain* must be Enemies to the whole, and Bane of all Society : So let Hearts and Hands unite amongst all Ranks of People of *Great Britain*, and take the *Dutch* Motto for it.

Vis unita fortior ; et Concordiâ res parvæ crescunt :

And let every *Briton* say, AMEN ! And a F * * * for all our Enemies !

Now I was arrived at an Age to look out for some Business to get Bread in the World ; my Parents having left me to my own Choice, I kept my Eye on the three grand Professions *Divinity*, *Law*, and *Physick*. The first I could not have the least thought of ; for, by the Constitution of the Church of *Scotland*,

land, there's not one *Benefice* in the Church worth *Ambition's* pushing for; so I chose *Physick*.

THAT I might have a farther Opportunity of improving myself in my Education, I went to *Edinburgh* to learn *Surgery* and *Pharmacy*, and entered Student with the most famous Man of that Place, one Mr. *Montieth*, Surgeon and *Apothecary*, who prepared all his *Chemical Medicines* in his own Laboratory; and the Care of this Laboratory fell to my Share as a Student, and his Apprentices took Care of the *Apothecary's* Shop.

I APPLIED pretty close at first, for it suited my Taste; I took also a College of *Anatomy*, and continued my Courses of *Mathematicks* and *natural Philosophy* under the best Masters: But, as this is the Place where the supreme Courts of Judicature are kept, the best Company of this Country (and perhaps of *Europe*) resort thither, I soon got a general Acquaintance with the gay young
Fellows

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Fellows of the Town, and my beloved *Glasgow Charmer* came to Town; so I fell greatly off from my first Application; and spent much more of my Time on my Pleasures, than on Business, and my expensive Way of Life, my Circumstances not being the best, reduced me to great Straits, which put me upon a thousand Stratagems (perhaps some of them not so allowable as strict Honour required) to raise Money to support me; for I was then in such a full Career, that I could undergo any Difficulty to feed my Inclinations.

AT this Time my Father died, and my Mother's Jointure fell into her own Hands, which I suppose was about three thousand Marks *Scotch* yearly; but the good old Lady must have confined herself to a very little, for I spent her one hundred Pounds *Sterling* a Year during her Life.

France, very much irritated, that their old Friends, (I may say *Tools*) the *Scots*,
had

had strictly *united* themselves with *England*, and, that they might make a *Diverſion* of the *British* Forces, then in *Flanders*, from the Confederate Army, they made an Embarkation this Year, at *Dunkirk*, of ſome Transports under the Convoy of a ſmall Squadron of Men of War, with the abdicated King *James's* Son on board, to invade *Scotland* with his Pretenſions to the Crown of *Great Britain*, and they actually arrived and anchored in the Firth of *Leith*; but, Sir *George Byng* at the ſame Time arriving with a conſiderable Fleet from *England*, they thought fit to make their Eſcape inſtantly, without doing any other Damage, that I remember, than frightening the old Woman, and Children, and throwing the City of *Edinburgh* all under Arms, in the greateſt Hurry and Confuſion, for ſome Days.

I HAVE ſince been told by Captain *Robert Maynard*, a Gentleman of undoubted Veracity, that he was one of Admiral *Byng's* Lieutenants in that Expedition, and

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and that they arriv'd within a few Leagues of the Firth long before Dark, came to Anchor, and To continued till Morning; when he, being Lieutenant of the Morning-watch, at Day-dawn espy'd in Shore eight Sail, &c. On which, being pretty certain it was the *French* Squadron, and very desirous to carry the first News to the Admiral, who was then asleep, he made his Servant wake him; then told him, that he was sure he had espied the *French* Squadron in Shore; "And in my humble Opinion, by cutting our Cables, said he, we are sure of them; but if we tarry to weigh Anchor, they must escape." The Admiral in an angry Tone answered, "Go on Deck, Sir, and mind your Watch; that's your Business." The Admiral staid half an Hour and upwards, before he came upon Deck, and then ordered the Signal to be made for weighing Anchor; but, before they got under Sail, the *French* Squadron was gone sure enough, except one straggling Ship, that accidentally fell in with our Fleet, having my Lord Middleton's two Sons on board.

has

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MAYNARD's telling this Story prevented his being made Captain during my Lord *Torrington's* Life; and that this Escape was permitted with Design I have not the least doubt of, and that the Admiral was instructed accordingly: But the Reasons of State for it greatly surpass my Understanding, I can only say, the great Lord *Godolphin*, who was as good as he was great, then steered the Helm of Great Britain, and doubtless could sufficiently answer for all his Actions.

AFTER their Departure, there were a great many Lords and Commoners of *Scotland* taken up on Suspicion, but all ended in nothing but Quietness; and I must say, that, by all that ever I could learn from History, or by the frequent Opportunities I had afterwards of conversing freely with the *Jacobite* Party in *France*, I do verily believe, that *France* (but don't presume to enforce it on others for Truth) never had any real Friendship for, or Design of serving the late King *James*, or any of his Posterity, farther than to
E make

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make *Tools* of them, subservient to their own perfidious Views.

I HAVE heard some Politicians, even of the first Rank, say, " That it was no " Disadvantage to the Nation in general " to have a *Pretender*, as it must always " keep the *King* to his good Behaviour; " and that such immense *Treasure*, in the " publick Funds, is a sufficient Pledge " for the Subjects *Allegiance*." This must be on Supposition, that the Remedy don't prove worse than the Disease; tho' I did never believe, notwithstanding there's a large Premium on the *Pretender's* Head, that any Man of common Understanding was ever desirous of carrying off that Prize.

AFTER staying two Years in *Edinburgh*, I went to *Holland*; where I studied three Years under the famous Professor *Boerhaave*, at *Leyden*; there I had no Diversion from my Studies, having four Colleges to attend every Day under my Professor; one for the *Theory*, another for the *Practice* of *Physick*, one for the *Chemistry*, and

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 51

and one for *Botany*: This last I made little or no Proficiency in, as I never had any Taste that way, and only knew the *Dispensary* Herbs, that were daily in our Hands. I had a College for *Anatomy* under *Joannes Jacobus Rau*, who was recommended to us Students by Dr. *Boerhaave*, as a very expert *Anatomist*; one also for History, under perhaps the best Historian then in *Europe*, *Perizonius*. Now I applied close to my Studies, for I took Pleasure in them; and only sometimes in Vacancy Time took a Trip to the *Hague* *Utrecht*, and *Amsterdam*, where we let the Reins loose a little; but that was soon over. One Particular however, I cannot forget; my Lord *Strafford*, who was then Queen *Anne's* Ambassador extraordinary in *Holland*, sent his Master of the Horse to *Leyden*, to invite all the *British* and *Irish* Gentlemen there, to dine with him at the *Hague*; and, the Day being come, almost all went, which, I must own, was a very odd sort of a Medley. The Morning of the Day appointed accidentally met, at *Razelli's* Coffee-House at the

E 2 *Hague*,

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Hague, my Lord S**** Mess. *Webb*, *Montain*, *Harvey*, *Haldane*, &c. and myself, who were all in the same Way of thinking as to Politicks, when we began to reflect, that this Invitation happened to be on the 10th of *June*: However, we all went to Dinner, and placed ourselves in a Body together at Table, where we had a most elegant Entertainment to a crowded Company. My Lord *Strafford* was at *Utrecht*, therefore my Lady entertained us, making a proper Apology for her Spouse's Absence. After Dinner, every one having a full Bottle and Glass before him, my Lady rose up from her Chair, filled, and ordered a Bumper round, and drank the King's Health, which was greedily swallowed by many; but my Lord S**** was pleased to take notice to her Ladyship, "That he knew
" no King of *Britain* at present, and
" there was none of *Holland*;" and immediately turned about to his Company below him, drank his Glass, made a Bow, went off, and was followed by fourteen or fifteen of us; nor did we return in
the

the Evening to the Ball, but met at *Rozelli's* by ourselves, with an *Hanoverian* Gentleman, an Acquaintance of my Lord's, where we enjoyed our own Toasts and Conversation; and the Peace of *Utrecht*, being then upon the Anvil, and in a fair Way of being concluded, we then had the Pleasure of hearing Lord S****'s Sentiments of that *Peace*, tho' very young, yet just appearing in the World, with a most bright *Genius*, fine natural Parts, a very lively Penetration, and indeed all the Prognosticks of the *Great Man* about him, which I hope he'll end in, when he has it in his Power to rectify the Mistakes, according to his own Prophecy at that Time, of the fatal Consequences of that *Peace*; and, in the whole Course of my Life, I never passed so an agreeable Night's Conversation.

OF all that Company his Lordship and I were the only surviving Persons to see that Prophecy fulfilled, the greatest *Fiasco* of Mr. *Harley's* Ministry, as it was the Basis of all the rest of their destructive Schemes, almost to the utter Ruin of the whole

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whole Nation, at such a critical Time, when they had it in their Power to have a *Chart-blanc* from *France*, to fill up with their own Terms; but by the most providential Accidents, the Queen's Death in *England*, and the Duke of *Orleans's* Regency in *France*, the very Articles that were designed for the Service of the *Pretender*, only as a *Blind* for the People, re-torted upon themselves with double Force; as appears in one of my Lord *Stair's* Memorials to the Duke Regent, presented by his Lordship on the 9th of *March*, 1716, *N. S.* wherein his Lordship represents, in the Name of his Royal Master, King *George I.* on account of that *unnatural Rebellion*, raised against him at the very Beginning of his Reign in the Year 1715.

“ THE King of *Great Britain*, and the
 “ Nation, thought themselves very safe on
 “ the Side of *France*, by the solemn
 “ Treaty of *Utrecht*, which for ever ex-
 “ cludes the *Pretender* from *France*, and
 “ obliges *France* to give him no Succours,
 “ nor Ships, nor Arms, nor Ammunition,
 “ nor

“ nor Money, nor Officers, nor Soldiers,
“ nor Counsel directly or indirectly,
“ &c.”

THE Regent of *France* hearkened to these Representations, I dare venture to say, better than *old Louis* would have done, had he been alive, only to serve his *own Turn*, by the Renunciation of the Monarchy of *Spain's* being united with *France* under one King, one of the Articles of that Treaty of which his *House* was to reap the Benefit: But the real Sentiments, and very Soul of the Court of *St. Germain* disclosed itself in that Declaration the *Pretender* published in that unnatural Rebellion in the Year 1715, dated at *Cromer* in *Lorain*, reprinted and published at *Perth* in *Scotland*, whilst he was there, wherein he says,

“ DURING the Life of our dear Sister
“ of glorious Memory, the Happiness
“ which our People enjoyed, softened in
“ some Degree the Hardship of our own
“ Fate; and we must further confess,

" that when we reflected on the Good-
 " ness of her Nature, and Inclination to
 " Justice, we could not but persuade
 " ourself, that she intended to perpetuate
 " the Peace which she had given to these
 " Kingdoms, by destroying for ever, all
 " Competition to the Succession of the
 " Crown, by securing to us, at last, the
 " Enjoyment of that Inheritance, out of
 " which we had been so long kept, which
 " her Conscience must inform her was
 " our Due, and which her Principles
 " must bend her to desire that we might
 " obtain.

" BUT since the Time that it pleased
 " God to put a Period to her Life, and
 " not to suffer us, to throw ourself, as
 " we then fully proposed to have done,
 " upon our People, we have not been
 " able to look upon, &c."

I CAN no more judge of the *Genius* and
 Temper of the *Dutch*, than if I had ne-
 ver lived amongst them, for I knew no
Dutchmen, but my Professors; but, if I
 am

am allowed to take Dr. *Boerhaave* for a Sample of the whole, I do say, that he was the most extraordinary Man of his Age perhaps in the whole World; a clear Understanding, sound Judgment, with Strength of Memory that nothing could exceed, and indefatigably laborious: It is true, he had not that Brightness of Invention, that some Authors may have; but with these his Talents he has done more Service to the World in the Knowledge of *Physick*, than all his Predecessors in the whole World put together; by digesting a huge Heap of Jargon and indigested Stuff into an intelligible, regular, and rational System. Happy it was for *Medicine*! when this great Man first set out in the Study of *Divinity*; that his very first Attempts were to purge that Profession from its mysterious and superstitious Errors, which met with great Opposition even in *Holland*, and his best Friends thought it a Stroke too bold and dangerous for him to attempt to reform, and advised him to change his Profession of *Divinity* into *Physick*

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THIS is the Time of my whole Life that gives me the most Pleasure on Reflexion; for I was under no Difficulties, I kept within bounds, and my Mother supplied me with Money. After passing three Years in *Holland* I took my Degree of *Doctor of Physick*, with the Approbation of my Professor, and set out for *France*, by Way of *Flanders*, in Company with Mess. *Webb* and *Pollock*. When we arrived at *Antwerp* the Great Duke of *Marlborough* was there, and, though out of his Command of the Army, we paid our Respects to his Grace every Morning at his Levee, as every true Briton was in Duty bound.

WHEN we arrived at the Army in *Flanders*, where the Duke of *Ormond* commanded in chief, whom none of us ever had the Honour of seeing there, which was taken notice of by some of the principal Officers; but it was quite a Matter of Indifference to us, who had no Dependance, nor nothing to ask of any one there.

How-

HOWEVER, we passed away about seven Weeks in the Army and Towns in *Flanders*, and soon after arrived at *Paris*, the End of our then intended Journey. The Peace of *Utrecht* was not then concluded, but all *British* Subjects were received in *France*, more especially at Court, with Favour. The very first Night I met with a very comical Adventure ; being a Stranger in Town, I sent for one *Bogle*, an old School-fellow of mine, well-acquainted in that City, who carried me to *Gregoir's* Coffee-house, and from thence to the Tavern, where we were a good many in Company, all *British* : At last, being pretty well heated with Wine, about Midnight Lord *Riccarton* asked *Bogle*, " If he " would go to *Le Cours de la Reine* ? " *Bogle* excused himself, and introduced me to his Lordship, as a proper Diversion for me as a Stranger ; away we went in his Lordship's Chariot about one o'Clock in the Morning ; that Diversion being held in a shady Grove, upon the Banks of the River *Seine*, a good Way beyond the *Louvre*,

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vre, so that we had near three Miles to ride. By the Way, asking his Lordship the Manners and Customs of the Diversion, he told me, it was a Concourse of Ladies and Gentlemen, the best Company at *Paris*, by Way of *Assembly*, where there were Musick, Dancing, regaling with Sweet-meats, Wine, &c. and that I might pick out any Lady I pleased for a Partner that was not engaged: "And the *French* Ladies, said he, are so very complaisant never to refuse, especially Strangers."

WE arrived at the Place which was very finely illuminated indeed with Flambeaux, and a very handsome *Assembly* of Ladies and Gentlemen, all genteelly and richly dress'd: My Lord very soon left me, made a Bow to a Lady, and she came tripping into his Hand. Several Gentlemen came in after us, and followed my Lord's Example with the same Success; but I took a turn or two up and down by myself, for, as I was left to my Choice, I was resolved to have a pretty Partner.— I fixed, stood at a little Distance, made my

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 61

my Bow, and the Lady came frankly up to me ; she soon perceived I was a Stranger, and asked me a thousand Questions ; and I understood so much of the *French* Language as to know what she said, and answer so as to be understood by her ; for I lodged in a *French* House whilst I was in *Holland*.—I rattled away, being heated with Wine, and the Lady was exceeding complaisant, and good-humour'd : We danced, we laughed, we retired to regale ourselves with Sweet-meats, Wine, &c. She allowed me Freedoms, that would not be permitted amongst modest Ladies any where but amongst the *free, gay French*.—In short, I thought myself blest in a Partner, and *cock-sure* ; 'till, luckily for me, there passed a *Leyden* Acquaintance, with his Partner in his Hand, and said to me in *English* without stopping :—" I see you ; " take care what you are about ; for, if " you push Affairs too far, you will be " disgracefully turned out of Company."—This cooled my Courage a little, and the Lady observed the Alteration, and asked me over and over what my Countryman

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tryman said to me?—I told her, he only gave me a Welcome to *Paris*. However, she continued as gay and as free as ever, and carried me Home to her House in her Chariot; and told me, “I might take
“ this House for my own, and all that
“ was in it, and hoped I would make
“ use of it as such, whilst I was at *Paris*.” And then sent me to the *Hôtel*, where I was to lodge, in her Chariot, with a proper Direction to find her House again.

IT is impossible to imagine what an Amaze I was in. I went to-bed, and revolved in my Mind what had passed; for I could not sleep for the Thoughts of it: Sometimes I took it for mere *Romance*; at others conceited, I had got into a new World, that I could not possibly have formed any Idea of, for I had not then seen *London*. In short, it is the *Genius* of the People, as widely different, from all other Nations that I have seen, as if they were not the same Species of Mankind: But the *Genius* of a Nation appears, in the most lively and natural Colours, amongst the Commonalty in *Low-life*, wherein
there's

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 63

there's little or no Diffimulation: I remember I was one Day in *Gregoir's* Coffee-house, over against the Play-house, *Rue de Comedie*, in *Paris*, when two Gentlemen, after the Play, agreed to sup together; each of them had his Chariot, with a great Number of Servants in fine laced Liveries attending. The Gentleman who was to entertain carried the other along with him in his Chariot, all the Servants following, the Gentleman's Servants of the Chariot paid the Compliment to the Stranger's Servants, who should mount the Back of the Chariot first, in the mean Time the Chariot was driving away at a great Rate, in a very dirty Street, whilst these Fellows, about a Dozen of them, running after the Chariot, were adjusting their Ceremony. *Montez vous Monsieur: Non Monsieur; Montez vous Monsieur. Je vous en prie? Non Monsieur, vous me faites bien de l'honneur! Monsieur l'honneur est de mon coté: Monsieur je suis bien obligé: Monsieur, votre serviteur tres humble.* And so they went on 'till the Chariot had drove at least half a Mile, before they

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they adjusted the Ceremony of mounting the Back of the Chariot, more bedawbed with Dirt than Silver-lace. *A true Emblem of that superficial, volatile Nation.*

I LIVED two or three Months at *Paris* without having the least thought of Business, and went into all the Gayeties of the Town; *Assemblies, Opera's, Plays, &c.* and, as all the World games there, I chanced to get two or three lucky Hits; which putting me above the common Rank for some Time, I hired a *Carosse de Remise*, and spent my Money with as much Ease, and as little Thought as I had got it: But this did not last long; I began to think of what I came to *France* for, my principal Design having been to get into the *Salle des Accouchments de l'Hôtel-Dieu*. This is an Institution founded by *Louis XIV.* and perhaps one of the best in the World, calculated as well consistent with Policy as Charity. In this large and convenient Hospital, *Hôtel-Dieu*, there are two very large Halls set a-part for receiving Women with-Child.

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THE Manner of which is thus, all Women in that Condition of whatever Nation or Religion, within a Month or six Weeks of her Time of Delivery, are there received, maintained, and well accommodated with all Necessaries, at the King's Charge, 'till they are brought to-bed, and entirely recovered from Child-bed. Yet we did not take their Words for the Time of their Pregnancy; but, as we had other certain Signs of knowing it, they were all reviewed one by one, before we received them; and those that had any foul Distemper were separated from the rest, and taken care of in an Apartment by themselves, called *Sale des Gatés*; for the Charity was universal and noble, for the Relief of all that applied in such Distress, which sufficiently entitled them, without asking any Questions for their Reception. If they have a mind to carry their Child away they may; for, when perfectly recovered, it is left to their Option, whether they will leave the Child, or no. If they do, it is carried, with a proper Certificate of Baptism, to *l'Hôtel de l'Infant-trouver*

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trouver, where it is carefully nursed and brought up at the King's Charge, a proper Nursery for 10,000 Children, with all manner of Necessaries and Conveniencies. This *Policy*, not to mention the *Charity*, was soon obvious to every body, but especially to old *Louis le Grande*, who, by his ambitious Views and Enterprizes, almost laid his Country waste, through the destructive and devouring Arm of War; but by this Means he had always a fresh Supply of 10,000 growing up. This is not only a Nursery for *Children*, but a Seminary for educating and instructing *Midwives*, who must all be strictly examined before they profess *Midwifery*, which also saves 10,000 more Children from being murdered by the Hands of unskilful *Midwives*. Of what great Benefit and universal *Charity* must such an *Hospital* as this be to Mankind in general, by preventing the Death of an almost innumerable Number of innocent Children not only thro' Ignorance of *Midwives*, but for fear of Ignominy, and Want of the Mothers, (Cases that daily happen

happen in *London* for want of such an Hospital) and of what infinite Advantage in particular might it be, by saving and consequently raising such an additional Number, and Strength of Hands, to this grand trading Nation, the Mart, as I apprehend, of the World: And as I have lived to see it accomplished in part, by erecting a *Foundling Hospital*, I hope to live to see the whole grand Work completed; under the Direction of such Gentlemen of undoubted Honour and Integrity as hitherto have had the Direction of this new Hospital: For of all Charities this is one of the greatest and most useful.

When I was in the *Hôtel-Dieu*, I delivered a very beautiful young *English* Lady of her first Child; who, I fancy, never forgot the handsome and mannerly Treatment she met with in that *Hospital*: From thence she retired, with her Child, as secretly as she entered without the least Suspicion either of her Person or Quality, intirely recovered from Child-bed of a beautiful Boy.

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HOWEVER trifling it may seem to be, for a Graduate to get into this *Hospital*, there's a great deal of Interest required to accomplish it. Lady *Anne Drummond*, Daughter of the Earl of *Melfort*, married into our Family, by whom and her Relations in *Scotland*, I was warmly recommended to the Lords *Perth*, and *Melfort*; Dukes they call'd them in that Country. The old Lord *Melfort* indeed was dead, before I arrived, but he had left an Heir and Representative: Nevertheless I pinned myself to my Lord *Perth's* Sleeve, who pretended to have great Interest at Court; (and his Nephew, my Lord *Melfort*, told me he had) and my only Request was for the King's Order to get into this *Hospital*; and I having been shuffled off from Week to Week for almost Nine Months, at last grew very uneasy about it; and one Day, as I was pressing his Grace very hard, and setting forth the Inconveniencies of my staying so long in *France*, he asked me, *If I did not design to go Home with the King*. For, said he, the King goes Home this Year for certain. This was well the

the last Year of Queen *Anne's* Reign) I readily answered, " I had no Concern
" with Kings; I came to *France* in Pro-
" secution of my Business that I must get
" my Bread by, or starve; and, if he
" could not serve me in this Affair, I
" was heartily sorry I had staid so long."
So I made my Bow, and came off, not a little displeased.

I USED to go to *St. Germain en laye* once in a Week, or fourteen Days at farthest; and he lived in the Castle with the late King *James's* Dowager. I always was admitted to his Table with great Freedom of Conversation, and I do declare upon my Honour, " That
" the more I heard of their Conversation,
" the greater Aversion and Abhorrence I
" had to their Schemes and Measures; and
" I am sure there was no Interest to bias
" me, one Way or t'other, further than
" my own Opinion and Inclination."

I MUST observe one Particularity amongst them, they never drank my Lord

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Oxford's Health; but the rest of Queen Anne's Ministry, Ormond, Hamilton, Bolingbroke, Strafford, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Sir William Windham, (with this Exception provided that he was not my Lord Oxford's Man) *cum multis aliis*, (whom I shall not presume to mention here, as some of them never were suspected, at least they never did discover themselves to be of such Principles) went glibly down; and their first Toast always was, Princess Anne of Denmark.

THE Castle-gates were always locked up at nine o'Clock at Night precisely, when his Grace of Perth went to his Devotion: (For he was much better adapted for a Clergyman than a Statesman.) Then I retired to the Tavern with the Officers of the Court, Colonels, Majors, Captains in abundance, &c. where we had all the Politicks second-hand without Restraint. I have heard my Lord of Oxford's Health proposed among them too, and always rejected, with their Reasons for it; *in vino veritas*, and we used to tope it about merrily!

merrily ! I did really believe he was a Clog to their Measures, whether through Fear of bad Success in their Schemes, or from Principles of Love and Affection to his Country I shall not presume to determine ; but I could easily learn, from the Conversation of the Court of *St. Germain*, that the Earl was no great Favourite there, which was afterwards fully confirmed to me, when I went to *London* ; for, if *Queen Anne* had lived a few Months longer, they had certainly carried their designed Measures into Execution.

THE Queen had made choice of a Ministry to her Liking, ready and willing to execute the concerted Designs ; the Army and Navy were new modelled for the Purpose of obeying Orders : The Pretender's Attainder was to be taken off by Act of Parliament, and he was to reside at the Palace of *Holy-rood-house* in *Scotland*, till a proper Juncture offered for the Queen to resign her Crown in his Favour. The more moderate of them were only for declaring him, and his Heirs,

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Successors to the Queen : But my Lord of *Oxford*, who was a Man of very great Penetration, foreseeing the dismal and fatal Inconveniencies that must necessarily accrue to *Great Britain*, from such a great Convulsion of State, by the Opposition it must have undoubtedly met with from the *Whigs*, with all the direful Consequences of a *Civil War* ; and, by his Lordship's Policy and Stratagems, I do verily believe, (but I don't want to impose my Belief on others) that the Execution of this Project was at least retarded, whilst he steered the Helm : But, before it pleased the *Almighty Hand of Providence* to interpose by the *Death* of the Queen, the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord High-Treasurer of *Great Britain*, was actually turned out of all his Employments, in order to make way for the Execution of their Designs : And I learnt, from the Conversation and Intimacy of a Gentleman of strict Honour, great Integrity and Credit, the Queen's Physician in Ordinary, and her great Favourite and Confident, That

“That her Majesty was very warmly inclined to this Project.”

THEN I retired from *St. Germain*, and resolved never to visit the Duke of *Perth* any more. During this Interval the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, Queen *Anne*'s Ambassador in *France*, put one *Mr. Clayton* into the *Hôtel-Dieu*; and some Months after my Lord *Melfort* sent for me, and told me, that the Duke of *Perth* had got me an Order, which he delivered to me: So that I returned to *St. Germain* to thank his Grace.

UPON this I at last succeeded *Mr. Clayton* in the *Sale des Accouchments de l'Hôtel-Dieu*, where I met with more laborious and fatiguing Business than any I ever had in the Course of my Life; every twenty-four Hours, *communibus diebus*, we brought about ten Children into the World, and there were only four *Midwives* and myself to go thro' all, Night and Day, we were always employed; and I continued in this Hospital four Months, without

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without setting my Foot out of it four times. This is the only Place, for thorough Instruction in this Business; I brought near three hundred Women to-bed in the Time, and every one of the four Midwives in Proportion: So that we had Cases of All Sorts; we assisted one another, and had a Mistress Midwife, who directed the Whole; and, in very extraordinary Cases, we called in the Master-surgeon of the Hospital's Assistance. This Hospital is served, in the meanest, servile Work, even to cleaning the Close-stools, by religious Nuns, of the very best Families in France, and none but such can wait there, which makes them better and cleaner than in any other.

PARIS is certainly the best Place for learning the practical Part of *Anatomy* and *Surgery*, from the frequent Opportunities of seeing Chirurgical Operations of all Sorts perform'd in the Hospitals; and the King has ordered, that every Body of those that dies in the *Salé Petrier* (a very large Hospital for the Reception of the Poor) should

should be subjected to *Anatomical Dissection*, for the Improvement of *Physick* and *Surgery*: And I do own the *French* to be more dextrous and expert Operators in *Surgery* and Cutters in *Anatomical Dissection*, (I speak in general) than any I have seen: But as for their *Theory*, that I did not want.

WHILST I was in *France*, at my most expensive Time, I drew too largely on my Mother, who was very loath to protest my Bills; but wrote to me of the Straits and Inconveniencies I had put her to; and I answered, "That I was in a *Popish* Country, amongst some *Scotch* Relations who were all *Papists*; and if she would allow me to turn *Papist*, I could live up on one half of the Money I then spent." The good, honest, old Lady, with the greatest Sincerity and Truth, advised me, for God's Sake, "to continue in the true Faith; for she would strip to the Smock, rather than I should turn *Papist*."

BUT

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BUT, alas! unlucky Fate! there I received the melancholy News of her Death; I shall not presume to enter into her Character, but only say without Partiality or Flattery, that she had all the good Qualities requisite to make a good Wife, and an affectionate Parent! *A Wonder!*

A Woman entirely without Guile!

which must be acknowledged by every body that knew her; and, for her Sake, I have always had a great Regard, Respect and Esteem for the whole Sex. From her Death I may date my *adverse Fortune*.

I HAD a Letter of Credit on Mr. Gordon, Banker in *Paris*, who supplied me with Money, and took my Bills on my Mother; I shewed him the melancholy Account of her Death; and told him, what little Money my Father had left me for my Patrimony was in the Hands of my Father's Executor, a Countryman and Relation of ours, in *London*. I even then foresaw the Consequences, and
looked

looked a little dejected: On which Mr. Gordon said to me, in a very genteel, generous Manner, *Never fear, Man! I'll advance you what Money you have occasion for here, and take my Venture on't.* Accordingly I took forty Pounds Sterling of him, and gave him my Bills for it on my Father's *Executor*; and, for his greater Security, I drew also on my Uncle *Craigends* in Scotland for the same Sum.

I THEN paid off what little Affairs I owed at *Paris*, and set out, by way of *Normandy*, for *London*. Mr. *Arbuthnot*, Merchant at *Roan*, received me very kindly, and gave me a very friendly Letter to his Brother, Dr. *Arbuthnot* in *London*. This Gentleman was pleased to favour me with an Intimacy in his Acquaintance, that was of very great Service to me: "He was a
" Gentleman of great *Learning*, clear
" Head, and sound *Judgment*; and, when-
" ever he opened, most agreeable in Con-
" versation." I lie under many Obligations to him, and nothing would give me
more

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more Pleasure, than an Opportunity of making a grateful Return to any of his Posterity or Friends. I did the last Office with a heavy Heart, of shutting his Eyes when he died; but *his Memory will live for ever with the World, and more particularly with me.*

WHEN I arrived in *London*, I sent for my Relation; but he shunned talking any Thing of Business; yet invited me to his House, at the same time telling me, that he let his House out in Lodgings; so that I accepted his Invitation, on Condition of paying him for my Lodging. I was but a very short Time there, before I saw how Things went, and how they were like to go; tho' he was very shy in speaking to me about any of our Affairs. I soon learnt, that my Bills had been protested, both by this Relation, and my Uncle in *Scotland*; and very soon after the Man, in whose Hands my protested Bills were, came to my Lodging, dunned me very harshly,

harshly, threatned me with a Gaol, and, worst of all, upbraided me with Ingratitude and Dishonesty, for using a Friend so basely, who relieved my Necessities, in so genteel and generous a Manner, (a great Truth !) which wounded and cut me to the very Soul, and discomposed and distracted my Mind in such a Manner, that I was not capable of giving a regular Answer, or thinking of any Remedy how to extricate myself. I wrote to my Relations in *Scotland*, how I was circumstanced, (which they knew well enough) with mean and low Expressions. They answered, " That I must have Recourse to " our *Relation* in *London*, who had my " Patrimony in his Hands; for they owed " me no Money, and were sorry for my " Misfortune."

OUR Relation had a great deal of the *inherent Scotch Pride*, which exerted itself in an inexpressible Stubbornness; he had involved himself with a Partner, who was but in middling Circumstances, which
he

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he did not know when they engaged in Partnership. This at length hurt their Credit, which I could easily perceive, though my Relation would never open his Circumstances to me, when he really had 400 *l. Sterling* in his Hands, *one Third* which was mine: Whereas, if he had opened himself to me with Affection and Friendship, perhaps we might have fallen upon *Ways* and *Means* to have saved us both.

IN this great Distraction of Mind, I continued in his House for some Months: Under these Dilemmas, without a Shilling in my Pocket, I did not know what Hand to turn to; and it was impossible for me to introduce myself to the World, in the Character of a *Physician*, as I first designed. He looked upon me as an Eye-fore, for having any Demand upon him; and I looked upon him as my Destroyer, for not answering my Demand; for he had given his Bond for the Money, to my Uncle *Craigends*, and that was assigned by him

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 81

him, as a Deed of Trust, to me which I had now got into my Custody: The Smoak increased into a Flame, and I left his House at all Risks.

I THEN got acquainted with Sir *David Hamilton*, the famous Man-midwife: I informed him of my Proficiency in *Midwifry* in the *Hôtel-Dieu*, (of which I had proper Certificates) and begged the Favour of his Countenance, to introduce me to what low Business he did not think worth his Acceptance. He begged to be excused, in his smooth and complaisant Manner, by telling me, that he expected his Son from *Leyden*, whom he designed to introduce to his Business,

ONE Week's Countenance from him would have done my Business for ever; but Dr. *Douglas* told me, that he never did a good Office for any Man of his Profession; but, on the contrary, did all he could to crush him in the Bud, when he was first appearing in the World. I so far agreed with Dr. *Douglas*, as to say, that I never

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knew, or heard of any good Office Sir *David* had done in his Way of Business; and as he had extracted and amassed a great Fortune to himself, from bottomless Pits (80,000 l. and upwards) so it was all sunk in one Year, 1720, in the grand *South-Sea* Pit. And I dare venture to say, without extending my natural Vanity, that I knew full as much of the Business of Midwifry as the great Sir *David* did: I have some *Observations* of his, *de Cancro in Utero*, which he gave me to revise a short Time before he died, he then designing to publish them. They might have been of some Use to the Publick, as he had great Practice and Experience in Women's Diseases; but he seemed to be over credulous in his Cures, which, to my poor Understanding, appear to be only Palliatives; for I never knew a confirmed *Cancer* cured otherwise than by a radical Extirpation.

BEING reduced to the Difficulties of *Low-life*, I could not bear them, and was resolved to embrace any desperate Attempt that offered; but first to make a
Trip

Trip to *Scotland* to visit my Relations and Friends. Accordingly I went by *Sea*, for I could not find Money to carry me by Land: They received me indifferently well, advanced me a little Money, and desired me to stay amongst them and follow my Business as a *Physician*. On this ROCK I split again; for had they advanced me, at that Time, as much Money as to have set me up in an *Apothecary's* Shop, (for they practise Physick in the primitive Way in *Scotland*, as *Physician*, *Surgeon*, and *Apothecary*) I had certainly got a very handsome Living among them, but they thought that below me, and so did I too; and a *young Physician* will not do at first; so that my Expences were more than my Income, tho' I did not live at all extravagantly, but genteelly, with good Oeconomy:

Vanity of Vanities!

LORD *Ormistone*, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and Lord Justice Clerk for *Scotland*, was then one of the principal and most active Managers in Government Affairs, for what they called

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the *Squadronee* Party in *Scotland*, in Opposition to the Duke of *Argyll's* Party. This Gentleman was married to a first Cousin of mine, whom I had a more strict Friendship, and personal Regard for than all the rest of my Relations. I was reckoned one of their Family; my Lord, thro' the Instigation of his Lady, wanted to provide for me, in my Way, at Court, and I do believe he was in earnest. Away I went to Court, recommended by him to the Dukes of *Montrose* and *Roxburgh*, the Earls of *Hadinton* and *Rothes*, and to his Son *John Cockburne*, Esq; I was a mere Novice in this Affair, and did not well know what I wanted to be at. The *Rebellion* broke out in the Year 1715, when one Dr. *Hamilton*, recommended by his Grace the Duke of *Argyll*, was soliciting to be *Surgeon-general* to the Army in *Scotland*, I opposed him, and applied to my aforesaid great Patrons, but afraid of bad Success; and wrote to my Lord *Ormistone* accordingly. He sent me a Letter to my Lord *Sunderland*, which did my Business in three Days

Day's Time. I had a Warrant from Mr. Secretary *Stanhope's* Office, to proceed immediately to his Majesty's Army in *Scotland*, and there to act as *Surgeon-general* to the Army, according to my Instructions, with a very handsome Sallary annexed to it, and ten Shillings a Day for travelling Charges. My Warrant was directed to his Grace the Duke of *Argyll*, Commander in Chief; and my recommendatory Letters to *Lieutenant-general Cadogan*. I posted down with all Expedition, stopped at *Edinburgh* with my Lord *Ormistone*, about an Hour or two; carried a Letter from him to General *Cadogan*, and arrived at the General's Quarters in the Camp near *Stirling*, just as he was ready to sit down to Dinner. I delivered my Letters, he read them, and told me, that I must wait on the *Captain General*, and shew him my Warrant; but, if I pleased I might dine first. I readily embraced the Offer, and sat down to a most elegant Dinner, in the midst of Frost and Snow; our Syllabubs were of *Frontiniac*, and all the Wines of the richest Sort, so that I did not

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mind our Captain General one bit, till the General told me, now was the Time of waiting on his Grace. I got up, and went to *Stirling* Town, where his Grace's Head Quarters were. I waited in an outer Room for above two Hours, as cold as Death, without a Drop of Liquor; where I met with several Gentlemen of my Acquaintance, who seemed to take no notice of me, and I was even with them, equally regardless of 'em. At last one Mr. *Campbell* came out from his Grace to ask my Business, which I told him. Some Time after, his Grace passed thro' the Room. I made up to him with my Warrant in my Hand, and he said to me, without stopping, *I have heard, Sir, of you and your Warrant; Cadogan will take Care of you; so I made the best of my Way to the Camp again.* At Supper, General *Cadogan* asked me, *If I had waited on his Grace the Duke of Argyll?* I answered, *Yes*; and told him to the minutest Circumstance of what passed, and repeated the Words his Grace said to me. On which General *Cadogan* said, with a demure

mure Look, *Well, Sir, I will take Care of you.* In the mean Time he had taken very good Care of me, by providing me with a very handsome Tent pitched and completely fitted up, and I eat and drank as he did, most *luxuriously*; I dare say there were more Horses employed about his *Luggage*, than in his Majesty's Train of Artillery.

Soon after the *Pretender* left *Perth*, where he was encamped, and fled from *Scotland*: *Cadogan* had early Notice of his Flight, even before the Duke of *Argyll*, and wrote the Dispatch he sent to Court on Horse-back: For, notwithstanding his luxurious Way of Living, he was a most laborious and indefatigable Soldier; for I don't remember ever to have seen him in bed whilst the Camp was in the Field, nor he never slept above two Hours out of twenty four, with his Cloaths and Boots on in a Camp-chair. As soon as the *Pretender* was gone, and the Army ordered to decamp, his Grace of *Argyll* did me the Favour to scratch me off the List with

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his own Hand. I did not see it, but a Gentleman who was present told me so; and, when I told General *Cadogan* of it, he answered, *He* (meaning the Duke of *Argyll*) *can scratch you out of the List for your travelling Charges, but not for your Salary, which is on the civil List: I'll take care of that.* Yet, however it fell out, I never could get myself re-establish'd neither for *Salary* nor *travelling Charges*, farther than for those few Months I served in the Army.

It is impossible to imagine what Divisions and Animosities arose in the Army from these two Parties, *Argythelians* and *Squadronees*, (as they called them) and carried on with more Spite and Malice against one another, than against the adverse Party of the *Rebels*, which was of great Detriment to his Majesty's Interest. It was surmised in the Army, that General *Cadogan* had a private Commission to supersede the Duke of *Argyll* in the Command of the Army, if Things were carried to any Extremity. This Rumour was spread

spread about, and did a great Deal of Hurt in the Army, almost to a Mutiny. How true it was I know not, nor, I dare say, no-body else, except himself: But my intimate Comrades of the Duke of *Argyll's* Party, without any Falling-out, would not lift their Hats to me on meeting, which I despised as *filly* and *boyish*.

THIS is an epidemical Distemper, more common with the *British* than any other Nation I know of; from long Experience I have seen the fatal Consequences of it, both in publick and private Undertakings; and I will venture to say, that all the Miscarriages that have been made by the *British*, in my Remembrance, have been intirely, and only owing to the ridiculous Divisions amongst themselves. All Foreigners know it, and frequently make use of it as a Handle to serve their own Designs. I could give innumerable Instances to my own certain Knowledge, but I forbear Particulars, and leave every one to their own Reflection.

As

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As soon as the Duke of *Argyll* arrived in *London*, he was turned out from all his Employments at Court, and Posts in the Army with all his Adherents and Dependents, and their Posts were given to the *Squadron* Party, with my Lord *Sunderland* at the Head of them; which Party had the Management of all the Affairs in *Scotland*, and Lord *Ormistone*, then Lord Justice Clerk, was one of the most active, and diligent amongst them, for executing the Business relating to the Forfeited Estates of those *Lords* and *Commoners* who had been in the *Rebellion*.

THE Duke of *Argyll* made a strong Party in *Scotland*, and opposed all their Measures, *right* or *wrong*; and, as his Party seemed to be on the merciful Side, it took and increased greatly in *Scotland*, so that they carried a great many of the Elections for Members of Parliament, and then his Grace push'd the Court, in his own Way, to make himself absolutely a necessary Man.

THIS

THIS great Nobleman was a lively Instance of *Scotch Pride* and *Ambition*; he would not submit to or be controuled by any Man, if he could possibly help it, nor would he serve, or be served in any other Way than his own: Yet he had as much *Honour*, as *Ambition* could allow of; and strongly of *Cæsar's* Opinion,

Aut CÆSAR, aut NULLUS.

I HEARD his *Grace* aver, in the House of Lords, "That he durst say, before
" that *august* Assembly, that, of all the
" Employments and Stations he had had
" under him, both at Court and in the
" Army, under so many different Sove-
" reigns, he never had, nor would, dis-
" pose of any one for Money." I believe it to be a great Truth; but he disposed of them with so much Prudence and Judgment, to necessary and useful Men, that would stand by him at all Hazards; so as to enable him, to make *himself* absolutely necessary to a Court, and consequently to carry his own Views and Designs; as the late great Lord *Godolphin* ob-
served,

served, Of all the young Nobleman, he ever knew, Argyll had the keenest Appetite, and the quickest Digestion.

ALL my Patrons were now in play, of all the Party Lord Ormiston was the most busy, and very zealous in suppressing the Rebellion, and oppressing the Rebels; so that he became universally hated in Scotland, where they called him, *the Curse of Scotland*; and when the Ladies were at Cards, playing the *Nine of Diamonds*, (commonly called, *the Curse of Scotland*) they called it, *the Justice Clerk*. He was indeed of a hot Temper, and violent in all his Measures. I was then in great Friendship and Esteem with his Lady, who was daily pressing him to do something for me at Court. I was so much esteemed one of their Family, that it led me into Inconveniences; so that I could scarce Escape falling into Quarrels upon his Account; for I did not care to hear one abused, with whom I was in so strict Friendship.

THEN

THEN away I went to Court again, recommended as formerly in very pressing Terms (for now I was reckoned one of the Party, and a Sufferer on that Account) to my old Friends the Dukes of *Montrose* and *Roxbrugh*, the Earls of *Hadinton* and *Rothes*, and *John Cokburne*, Esq; I had likewise Letters from him to the Earl of *Sunderland*, and General *Cadogan*; (now Lord *Cadogan*) and I was overflashed with the Hopes of Success; I wanted to be a *great Man*, but I did not know how. I was very kindly received by my *Scotch* Friends, had a general Invitation to their Houses, and was always admitted with Freedom to their Table and Conversation: But, of all of them, my Lord *Hadinton* was my Choice: “ He
“ was of a facetious Wit and Humour,
“ well-versed in all modern Learning, and
“ the best-natured Man living: He was a
“ Poet too, having composed several Po-
“ ems, *Lampoons*, &c. for his own Amuse-
“ ment, but never published: Some of
“ them were exceedingly well done, not
“ only according to my small Judgment,
“ but

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“but of the best Judges:” For I have shewn several of them to Dr. *Arbuthnot*; and I spent so much of my Time with his Lordship, that I was distinguished as Lord *Hadinton's* Doctor.

TIME now slipt away very pleasantly with me; for I was not at all anxious about what was to come, so I could only get Money to answer my present Expences; which I found Means to do, by running myself into about a 1000 *l.* in Debt, which I then look'd upon as a Trifle, tho' I had not one Shilling to pay it with, and took the Obligation to be done to those I borrowed the Money of, as I retained a grateful Sense of the Favour, and was fully resolved to repay it, with double the Service, as soon as it was in my Power, which I never in the least doubted of: And, during the whole Course of my *Life-time*, I have been strongly of this Opinion, upon what Reason, or Foundation, God only knows; for, I am sure, I do not know, nor no-body else; nay, I would not receive a Favour, or Obliga-
tion

tion from any one, that I had not a Regard and Esteem for, but despised their Offer and held their Persons in Contempt: This was setting myself up in Opposition to the far greatest Part of Mankind; which could not but End in my Downfal; and I even then had such a competent Knowledge of the World, as to know, that this was an imprudent and bad Way of managing Affairs; yet, in all the different Shapes of my Life, I never had it in my Power to break myself of this Foible, even when I was smarting severely for its bad Consequences:

Unalterable Nature! O Vanity!

To be sure, never a young Fellow appeared at first in the World in better Company than I did; these Noblemen made a Companion of me, which introduced me to the very first and best Company in *England*; and I had *Vanity* enough to think that my Education had put me upon a Level, if not above them, in Conversation, and I would not sacrifice my Opinion to the very best of them, upon no Consideration

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ration whatever; neither *Prudence* nor *Interest* could induce me to it; the very *Rock* I again split on; for the Frailties of human Nature are such, not to bear *Contradiction*, especially from those in Dependence; even Lord *Hadinton*, who was the best-natured Man that ever lived, did not like *Contradiction*. In short, I do really believe, had I been as careful, industrious, and desirous of pleasing the World, as of *pleasing myself in my own whimsical Humours*, I had a very fair Opportunity of getting above the World at this Time, in a very genteel Way, and consequently prevented the many *Misfortunes* that afterwards attended me; but at that, or any other Time, I would sacrifice my *Interest* to my *Joke*; for nothing but my *superlative Vanity* made me lose ground with my good-natured Lord *Hadinton*, and others; and, in the whole Course of my Years, I never could bring myself to any Thing that had the least Tincture of *Flattery*, especially to a Friend I regarded, and only to a Person I hated by way of *Irony*: Which has been some

THOUGHT

Thou-

Thousands of Pounds out of my Way:
And the greatest *Genius* in the World;
that is not conducted by *Prudence*, must
miscarry;

Nullum numen adest, si absit Prudentia.

So that I now began to lose Ground
with the World, and perceived my Friends
flighted me, by using me with less Freedom
than formerly: But, instead of enquiring
into the true Cause and amending, I re-
paid them, as near as I was capable of
Judging, in their own Coin; and, so
far from fawning, cringing, and flatter-
ing, I went on the other Extreme, by
boldly (tho' imprudently telling them,
that they used me ill, by feeding me
with fair Promises, and doing nothing for
me; at the same Time telling them a
naked Truth, that the *Scotch Squadron*
Party had scarce Interest enough at Court
to support themselves, they being near
their *Downfall*, which happened very
soon after: For his Grace the Duke of
Argyll had got a strong Party in the *House*
of Commons, which thwarted all the Court

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Measures, and his Grace's Party thwarted the Designs and disconcerted all the Measures of the *Squadronee Party*, in such a manner, that they could not proceed any longer, especially in the dirty Part of them, without running the Hazard of raising the People into a *second Rebellion*. So the *Court* was now absolutely obliged to take his Grace into Play again upon his own Terms; and he soon got the Ascendency over the *Squadronees*, and used them accordingly. So, by Experience, I found that my *Genius* was not adapted to a *Court*, unless I could have been a Duke of *Argyll*, whose Method I liked dearly; but his Abilities were great.

BANK-STOCK now began to run low with me, and, as Duns increased, Credit sunk in Proportion; so that I was obliged to make use of all the Arts that my Invention could find out, to keep myself from sinking under the Weight of such a heavy Burden. I freely acknowledge, that I found out many Ways and Means, not intirely consistent with strict Honour and Honesty,

hasty, at the same Time I declare, that my Intentions were not to defraud any body of their just Right, but to save myself from immediate Destruction, that I might stand the Chance of being in a Capacity to extricate myself, and repaying all Favours with Honour and Gratitude. So that I was like a Man swimming for Life, who at the last Gasps will lay hold of any Thing to keep himself from Drowning.

THIS Conduct was only again deceiving myself, which retorted upon myself at last with double Force. It requires indeed a great deal of Resolution to *think in bad Circumstances*; but not daring to think, and taking all Methods to *divert Thought*, is what precipitates many on one into immediate Ruin, which, upon mature Deliberation, might have been prevented.

To preserve the small Remains of Credit I had left, I was obliged to keep up an outward Shew, an handsome Apartment in Town, (by the by within the *Verge of the Court*) a Footman in Livery,

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going abroad genteelly dress'd now and then in a Chair, were absolutely necessary; for any Signs of Poverty would have sunk me immediately with the common People; for, tho' the *Tradesmen* in *London* are more extensive in their *Credit*, than any People in the World, they have no *Bowels* of Compassion, in regard to any Thing but their own Interest. I also had a Retirement in the Country near *London*, whither I used frequently to retreat with my *House-keeper*, to avoid *Duns*, *Arrests*, &c. and, when I came to Town, I always kept the most expensive Company: So that it was astonishing to every body, even to my Acquaintance, how I lived; for I followed no Business at that Time, and no body was privy to my Affairs; which confirm'd to me the old Maxim,

Necessity is the Mother of Invention, and has no Law.

For I played a thousand lawless Tricks, by bribing and bilking *Bailiffs* and *Attorneys*, and, instead of holding me to Bail under an Arrest, I made those very Attorneys and Bailiffs persuade their Clients to advance

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 101
vance me more Money on Bond, make
up a Sum as they called it; but still with
an Intention to pay as soon as it was in my
Power.

A MAN never exerts himself but when he
is roused by his Desires, and the stronger
his Desires, with the greater Force of
Invention he exerts himself; for if he had
no Desires his Ingenuity and Abilities
would lie dormant for ever: And thus *private Vices become publick Benefits*; for the
Extravagancies of private Persons, Sea-
faring and other ingenious, shifting Peo-
ple, drive them to seek after and fetch
Riches, at a great Risk, from foreign
Countries, which is all spent at Home, to
the Publick's, more than their own pri-
vate Benefit. I myself, in the Course I have
run, have disposed of at least 20,000 l.
in this Manner, which I have stated to
Profit and Loss: Therefore there's a much
greater Art in *keeping* than in *getting*
Money.

I PUT my Relation's Bond in Suit
H 3 against

against him, and, after a long and expensive Suit, my *Lawyers* found him to be insolvent: When I would not allow them to distress his Person, they came upon me for the whole Costs at once, and distressed my Person.

THE Attorney I employed took out a Warrant to arrest me in a very treacherous and villainous Manner; for he invited me to his House in great Friendship, and arrested me at his own Table; upon which I stuck him, got off, and was obliged to abscond for some Months, till the Fellow recovered, and I got the Affair made up; but it proved the most troublesome I had ever met with at that Time. In short, if I was to repeat all that passed in this Scene of my Life, it would make a very goon *Tragi-comical Farce*.

WHILST I was at the Height of my whimsical and humorous Pleasures, I had three different Lodgings in different Parts of this great Metropolis, (the Inhabitants as widely different from one another, as if they

they were not the same Nation) and three different Suits of Cloaths; one very fine for the Court, another grave for the City, the third a Footman's Dress: I adapted myself to the Humours of my Company, according to my Dress, tho' perhaps not to Perfection, yet greatly to the Satisfaction of my own Fancy.

There's a Pleasure in being mad, that none but Madmen know.

DURING these Embroils, there was a Gentleman in London, an intimate Acquaintance of mine, who knew the Place of my Retirement, and the Cause of it, came down into the Country to see me. Talking freely of my Affairs, he run out in Commendation of George Middleton, Banker in the Strand, (whom I knew very well) as a good-natur'd, friendly Man: "And, said he, if you would apply to him, "I dare say he would assist you with "a little Money." I paused a little, but said nothing; and, when he was taking leave of me, he again said, "Try Middleton." On revolving my anxious Thoughts

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within myself, I came to a Resolution to try him: So I ventured up to Town, huddled myself up in a Chair, and waited on Mr. *Middleton*. After a little Conversation, I broke the Affair to him, he look'd demure and shy on me, (at least I thought so) and then said, "I should be glad to do you any little Service in my Power; but Money is hard to be got now-a-days but, if it is only a little you want, I will serve you, and you may draw on me by the Hands of the above-mentioned Gentleman;" (naming him.) So I took my Leave, and away I went to this Gentleman's Chambers in the *Temple*: My first Draught was for 100 *l.* which was accepted; and I left the Management of all my Affairs to this Gentleman, who was a very clever Fellow, and a fast Friend.

By this Time the *stuck Attorney* was quite out of Danger, being Abroad, and they were negotiating how to make up the whole Affair with him: So I retired again into my Banishment, where I had Leisure enough to reflect on the Follies of

my

my mispent Time: But to divert these melancholy Thoughts, I amused myself by writing a *Play*, and called it,

Money, the Emperor of the World!

representing the *Emperor* sitting on a Throne of great Magnificence, and by him placed a capacious Machine, in form of a Cone, with the Base upwards, reaching and opening to the Cieling of the House, to which was joined a Wheel, and by turning this Wheel there was to come down a continual Flow of *Money*, from an inexhaustible Source. The whole World is addressing his Imperial Majesty by Turns; Kings, Courtiers, Divines, Lawyers, Physicians, and Tradesmen: At a Distance was placed a great Multitude of the Populace; all, from the King to the Cocker, harangue this *grand Monarch* to serve their different Views and Designs in their own Way. But the whole at last appears to be mere Delusion, and all ends in the same ultimate Design, *absolute Obedience to his Imperial Majesty, MONEY!*

THOUGH

THOUGH it is true, that,

Totus Mundus agit Histrionem.

Yet, if my Understanding had been much better than it really was, it was impossible for me at those Years to enter into Men and Things, so as to be equal to so great a Task; for it is certain the whole World aim and drive at one and the same *grand Point*; but there are such an infinite Number of *Ways and Means* of endeavouring to arrive at the *grand Point*, and so many Struggles and Difficulties lie in the Way of gaining it, that few or none ever come completely to the End of their Course, so as to be able to hit the *Mark fully*, which is the Cause of such a stupendous Variety amongst Mankind: As for Example,

MONEY begets *Power* without Limitation; and He that has the most *Power* is the *greatest Man*; and consequently this *Emperor* of ours is the *greatest* of all, he is *Commander in Chief*, and the Grandeur of the rest only depends on the Proportion they bear of his Favour.

THIS

THIS over-bearing *grand Monarch* invades and swallows up at once, by superior Force, his neighbouring Monarchs, who all had the same Views that he had,

Kings never want Pretences for War!

and dispossesses them of their Dominions, and consequently disappoints them of their Aim, and enslaves Millions more of his Fellow-creatures for his own Subjects: So this is reckoned a *great, victorious, and glorious Emperor*; whereas, in reality, he is a *vile, abominable, and horrible Oppressor*, a Nuisance to Mankind, the Bane and Pest of Society: And the more Stratagems and Deceit the *Generals* used, who executed his Orders and Designs, the sooner they were allowed to be the *greatest Generals* of the Age but more deservedly they ought to be called, the *greatest Monsters* of Wickedness and Rapine. For, as one Murder by the Laws of Society deserves Death, Thousands deserve a thousand Times worse; yet these *Divesters* are the *Idols* of the World; and *All, All, All* pay *passive Obedience, and Non-resistance* to

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to this *great King of Kings*, universal Monarch, and absolute Emperor of this World, as well in *Ecclesiastical* as in *Civil* and *Military* Affairs.

IN War there's only one Side guilty, tother is lawful, by the first and strongest Law of Nature, *Self-defence*. The judicious Historian, M. de Rapin says, "It is a lamentable Thing, that *Ambition*, by which Princes are inclined to invade the *Property* of others, should pass in the World for a *Virtue*, (*which is really a Vice*) and that an Historian, by Reason of Men's depraved Notions, should not dare to represent it in its true Colours; since, generally speaking, they are your ambitious Princes, that are honoured with the Sirname of *Great*."

THAT is to say, in short, that these are just such Princes as we have described our *grand Monarch*; only in a lesser Degree according to their Abilities, Power and Authority, who, after having devoured the *lesser*, are devoured themselves by

by the *greater*; and our Author is sorry, that he dare not tell you the Truth. From hence springs the Source of *Honour*! a very muddy Source indeed!

IN drawing those Pictures, I always kept the Originals before me; so that some of the Speeches were almost *verbatim*; but, to perform such a Work perfectly, requires the *greatest* *Gemius*, and a thorough Knowledge of the World, which I was no ways equal to; and, if there were any Beauties in it, they were entirely owing to some Strokes from Lord *Hadinton's* Hand, who did me the Honour of visiting me several times in my Banishment, which, I told him, was owing to the attractive Force of my House-keeper, an humble Servant of his Lordship's. I gave this Performance to the Author of *Cato's Letters*; for his Animadversions, as the best Judge of a Performance of this Nature, and never enquired farther about it; for I soon got something of more Consequence to mind.

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I LIVED in this Retirement near twelve Months, till the whole Affair was negotiated, and made up, which cost me above 400 *l.* and Mr. *Middleton* advanced the Money: In all, he advanced me about 700 *l.* the most extraordinary Piece of Friendship that perhaps ever was heard of; I dare say not on his own Risque, but at the Desire of some *Friend*, or *Friends*, who secured the Money to him; but, from that Day to this, I could never learn, only guess'd, who were my Benefactors,

THIS was the most generous and endearing Friendship imaginable, to serve me effectually in my own Way, at a dead Lift, in so genteel and handsome a Manner; *True Friendship!* It is incredible to think of the various Ways I took to support my daily Expences, which were considerable, and a great deal larger than my Income; and it is astonishing to think what large Sums of Money I have raised from Time to Time during the Course of my Life, upon very little or no Foundation; but I never stuck at any *Premium*; tho' at other
Times

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 111

Times my Credit has been sunk so low, that I could not raise a *Shilling*. I always dreaded *Poverty* as shameful, and, when afflicted with it, have, with all imaginable *Artifice*, endeavoured to conceal it, to shun the Disgrace attending it. I ever made the greatest Show when poorest: I have ordered a Chair to carry me Home to my Lodgings, and, for Want of a *Shilling* in my Pocket to pay the Fare, have kept it a Month, till I could find Money to pay the whole off, sometimes at the Expence of others, which at last discovered itself by meer *Necessity*, and retorted upon myself with double Force: Whereas, in reality,

POVERTY is no VICE, nor RICHES
any VIRTUE.

As of all *Virtues*, *Friendship* is the greatest, and only dwells with great and generous Souls; so, of all *Vices*, *Ingratitude* is the greatest, and only dwells with mean, abject Souls: Tho' neither one, nor 't'other, falls under the Cognizance of human Laws: But there is a certain, universal,

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fal, standing Rule of Life, handed down to us from the *Romans*, without Exception, which will continue to the End of the World:

Si Ingratum dixeris, Omnia dixeris.

Adversity only can distinguish *true* from *false* Friendship.

IN this Rotation of Time I fell in with the *famous* (or rather *infamous*) *South-Sea* Year, 1720, when the whole Island of *Great Britain* was seized with a contagious, pestilential Distemper, which I called a *golden Phrenzy*: This Contagion first broke out in *France*, and so contaminated the Air, that it wafted itself over into *Britain*, and even returned back and infected the *Dutch*.

THIS *South-Sea* Company was a Child conceived, and brought forth by that *great* and *able* (I wish I could say *good*) *Minister*, the late *Earl of Oxford*, and was one of the boldest, and perhaps best Strokes that ever he or any one struck at so critical

cal a Juncture of Time, when the Nation was so involved in Debt, to establish a *Fund* for the *Debts* unprovided for; and to settle this *Company*, the most advantageous Branch of Trade, that ever *Britain* was possessed of, if rightly managed, according to the original Plan laid down, to open all the *Spanish West Indian* Ports to the *British* Trade, without giving Umbrage to the trading Nations of *Europe*: The *first* against the Wills of these very Persons to whom those Debts were due; the last against the universal Dislike of the whole Nation, particularly the *Whigs*, who were endeavouring and striving hard, at that Time, to disconcert all his Measures: Both which he reduced, and erected a *Scheme*, as well for ascertaining a precarious Debt, as appointing an impracticable Commerce; so that, in less than one Year, those, who were the greatest Opposers of the first Steps in it, were the very Men who bought up all the Stock: For they opposed it at first, rather because they envied him the Success of it, than that they did not think it the

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best Scheme that ever was laid in the Nation.

Dr. *Swift*, in a Letter to my Lord Chancellor *Middleton* of *Ireland*, says of my Lord *Oxford*, " That he was the greatest, the wisest, and the most uncorrupt Minister he ever conversed with : " And the Dean was no bad Judge of Mankind. I never had the Honour to be acquainted with his Lordship personally : But what I say of him in these *Memoirs* is impartial, and consistent with my own Knowledge.

IN or about the Year 1718, the famous *John Law*, Esq; a *Scotsman* by Birth, then an Inhabitant of *Paris*, a naturalized *Frenchman*, projected a Scheme, for raising and establishing a Bank in *Paris*, and an united trading Company to the River *Mississippi* in *America*. He incorporated the Stock of this new Company, which was raised by Subscription, into *Bank-Stock*, and the whole united Stock was negotiated and circulated by the Bills of this new Bank ; and in a very short Time

Actions

Actions of 100 Subscription rose to 500; 1000, 1800, 2000, nay, even to 3000 and upwards: Then all the Specie in *France* was called into the King's Mint, recoin'd, and re-delivered to the Proprietors at double Value, by the King's Edict: So, by this Recoinage the King got all the Money of *France* into his Coffers, which put an entire Stop to all commercial Correspondence with other Nations and quite sunk the Exchange into little or nothing:

No Exchange!

The calamitous Effects of absolute Government!

All chimerical Notions!

Ridiculous Projects!

Castles in the Air, without any Foundation!

only to serve the Views of the Duke of Orleans, then Regent of *France*: A very great Man! of a most extensive Capacity and great Abilities, who concerted Measures with, and made use of Mr. Law, only as a Tool to serve his own Purposes, and to execute his deep-laid Schemes. He put him at the Head of the *Finances*,

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and made him Director of this Royal Bank; all which he accomplished in his own Life-time. By this Method he paid off an immense Sum that old *Louis le Grand* had contracted, and owed to his own Subjects, without putting one *Sous* in their Pockets; but, on the contrary, made them very considerable Debtors to the Crown, by their own voluntary Transactions: And then *Actions* in this Stock sunk to their *primitive Nothing*, the original Source and Parent of all the subsequent *Bubbles*, great and small, in *Europe*, *South-Sea*, &c. &c. &c. At the same Time the once so great Mr. *Law*, who has had the first Peers of *France* attending his Levee in his Prosperity, was oblig'd to fly from the Fury of the People, and died worth little or nothing:

Sic transit Gloria Mundi!

IN the whole Time I never heard, knew or so much as read of one single Instance of *Gratitude* in a *Frenchman*, from the highest to the lowest of them.

By this *Spunge*, of paying off all the publick

lick Debts at once, and heaping up all the Treasure in the King's Coffers, *France* regained Strength to attempt again what the vain-glorious grand Monarch, *Louis XIV.* had been aiming at all his whole Life-time, almost to the entire Ruin and Destruction of his own Country,

To give Laws to Europe.

But we find by Experience, that MONEY is the only Law-giver of *Europe*.

THAT this *Bubble* did take with a giddy, volage, precipitate Nation, under a despotic Government, is not so much to be wondered at, but how it could be introduc'd into a Nation of Liberty and Property, under the best regulated Constitution in the whole World, is incredible tho' certain; for in about two Years after there were Proposals made in *England*, by the *Bank* and *South-Sea* Companies, of incorporating the Government Annuities into their Stock, for the more easy discharging the Government's Debts. The *South-Sea* Company's Proposals were accepted of;

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and, in less than twelve Months Time, their Stock rose from 100 to 1300 and upwards, on Notions equally chimerical and ridiculous with the *French Actions*: At the same Time there were hundreds of other *Bubbles* going on, every one of them more ridiculous than the other, till the Disease, the *Phrenzy* came to a Crisis, when the *grand Bubble* broke, and vanished at once into Air, to the entire Destruction of many, they being like a Parcel of Carrion Crows, eating out the Bowels of one another; and which, was worst of all, the Government's Debts were left unpaid, nay, not in the least diminished: A Calamity never to be forgot in the Island of *Great Britain*!

THIS contagious Distemper also reached and infected the phlegmatic *Dutch*, and raged for some Time with Violence amongst them, till the *States General* thought fit to apply an effectual Remedy, which timely prevented the Destruction of their *Trade*, and Ruin of their Country.

I WAS

I WAS on the Field of Battle during the whole Action in *London*; Imagination cannot form to itself any Idea of such a Scene without seeing the *Farce*, which ended in deep *Tragedy*; from the first Quality to the meanest Tradesman bustling and jostling together, and dealing promiscuously for Thousands of Pounds in a Minute: *Credit* was so extensive, that it was in the Hands of every body, they only wanted your Name for it. Methought, I made no bad Figure in the Play myself, which even exceeded my most sanguine Hopes; I never dreamt of less than three or four Thousand a Year:

This was the golden Age!

This the Philosopher's Stone!

This the Magic Wand, by a Touch turning every Thing into Gold!

The very Face of Nature was changed; all were Brothers of Prosperity; there was room enough for all to deal, if they could find Room to stand? The only Difficulty remained was, where to find *Worlds* enow to purchase: For, during the Violence,

of this raging *Distemper*, I durst say, the daily Transactions in *Stock-Jobbing*, in and about *Change-Alley*, amounted to a greater Sum than the whole circulating Cash of *Great Britain* amassed together; And the *Mississippi Actions* in *France* exceeded our *South-Sea Actions* three to one; and the *slow Dutch* were not far behind us in *Madness*.

Astonishing Madness!

PHILOSOPHERS agree, that *Happiness* and *Misery* consist chiefly in the *Imagination*; as *Happiness* is only a *Privation* of *Misery*, so is *Pleasure* a *Privation* of *Pain*, and consists in being more or less dependent on the Will and Pleasure of another; So this pleasing *Delirium* was universal, every body was greatly pleased and fully satisfied *within himself*, and thought *himself happy*, and only wanted to push to a higher Degree of *Happiness*, in *Emulation* to their Neighbours, till they plunged themselves into *Misery*. I had Letters from all Corners of *Britain*, especially from my Relations, congratulating
me

me of my great and good *Fortune*, setting forth the great *Friendship*, *Regard*, and *Respect* they had for me, and how nearly they were related to me.

*Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos ;
Nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes. OVID,
Dum pauper ubique jacet.*

THO' these *Memorandums* were only for my private *Reflection*, I do solemnly declare, that I was never asked a *Favour* personally, that was in my *Power*, but what I granted ; and I always had infinitely more *Pleasure* in granting than in receiving a *Favour*. It may perhaps be asked, " Why all these *Debts* contracted " before I met with this *Graudeur* and " *Riches*, were not then discharged ? " Therefore I do again declare, that no-body ever had occasion to ask me twice for what was in my *Power* to do at once : But as these *Debts* were mostly divided into small *Sums*, and lay in different *Hands*, few at that *Time* thought it worth while to ask for *Trifles*. My *Neglect*, indeed, was not finding them out, which I overlooked

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looked as Trifles, being always ready on Call with double Service;

I MADE it my Business to wait on Mr. Gordon, Son to my dear Friend, late *Banker* in *Paris*, and told him the Obligations I lay under to his Father, and offered him the Money with my humble Service; the *Fellow*, who dunned me so severely for it, by this Time being ruined. He received me very genteelly, but would not receive the Money; we continued our Acquaintance with great Intimacy. He ask'd me some time afterwards, to engage with him in a *South-Sea* Contract, and I readily and with Pleasure consented to, which turned out 2200 *l.* to his Loss; and I was severely handled for it afterwards as his Surety.

LORD *William Johnstone*, Son of the Marquess of *Annandale*, desired me to be his Bondsman for 800 *l.* which I readily did, and fifteen Years afterwards I was distressed for it with Interest, and Costs of Suit; and, when I applied to his Brother-in-law,

in-law, the Earl of *Hoptoun*, (who succeeded to a very good Estate by his Death, and has a very great Estate of his own) he absolutely refused me any Relief, and told me, Lord *William's* Estate was an entailed Estate by his Mother, and was not liable to his Debts; so I was obliged to pay above fifteen hundred Pounds for him, without getting Relief for one Shilling from his Estate, which Lord *Hoptoun* possesses, as I am told, of about 800 *l.* a Year.

My Riches and Grandeur did not last above seven or eight Months, before I was sunk into a deeper *Abyss* than ever, with at least five thousand Pounds Weight more than I was able to pay at the Close of Affairs, which bore me down so that I could never get my Head fairly above Water at Home; it banished me abroad, with a fresh Attack at every Return, so as to keep me out of Business from time to time: Though I reckoned myself once worth 20,000 *l.* chimerically, but I certainly, with good Management, could have

have realized a great Part of this Sum but that would not do. The last Contract I discharged was to *George Middleton*, (for what Cash I had I always kept with him) when I paid him seventeen hundred and odd Pounds, Cash in his own Hands, and he gave me a Receipt for it, the old Debt included, in full of all Demands.

I RECOVERED, indeed afterwards, upon one of my *South-Sea* Contracts, with *Col. Urquhart*, twenty seven hundred Pounds by meer Dint of my Lawyer's good Management; the Colonel being then a Member of Parliament, worth a good deal of Money, all got this Way, but had no great Inclination to pay: However, the *House* obliged him to wave his *Privilege* of Protection. He then retired into the *Highlands* of *Scotland*; so that no-body got a Six-pence of him, but myself.

Now all was gone to the *Devil!* the Mask was taken off, and every body appeared as so many *Ghosts from Hell*; *Pluto* sent forth all his *Furies*, *Spite*, *Malice*,
Envy,

Envy, Detraction and Despair, strongly delineated in their Faces; and, indeed, it was a *Hell upon Earth*, nor do I believe that Hell itself can be worse; and I was fully resolved to fly from it at all Hazards.

Vanity of Vanities! all is Vanity and Vexation of Spirit!

AT this Juncture I withdrew into a solitary, but pleasant, little Retirement near *Sunbury*, by myself, revolving in my Mind what had passed, which seemed to me still more like *Dreams* than Realities; when one Day the Lords *Hervey*, *Drogeda*, and *Johnstone* found me out, and made me a Visit; but I could not entertain them at my little Hut, so we went to the Tavern at *Sunbury*. After drinking hard, Lord *Drogeda* called a *Fidler*, who was noisy enough with his Fiddle, which my Lord seemed to like greatly, caress'd the Fellow, and gave him several Shillings and Half-crowns; when all of a sudden, without any Provocation that we knew of, he stuck the Fellow dead on the Spot, which could not possibly be foreseen, or pre-

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prevented by any of the Company, having no such Suspicion. This sad Accident gave me great Trouble, and much more so, as my Name was again brought on the Carpet, that was sinking into Oblivion. In short, had it not been for my Lord *Falmouth's* (*Drogeda's* Father-in-law) Interest and good Conduct, we all of us had certainly been obliged to have taken our Tryals for it: But all Affairs were made up, and the Widow handsomely provided for.

HIS Grace the Duke of *Chandos* then patronized the *Royal African Company of England*, and he was deeply engaged in their Stock, and, as all Stocks fell in Proportion to the *grand Bubble*, his Grace lost an immense Sum of Money here: However, he stuck by it at all Hazards, and was willing to retrieve their Misfortunes, if possible, by putting their Trade on a better Footing and surer Foundation than they had been on, since that Company had been under the Direction of the Duke of *York*, the late King *James II.*
Accord-

Accordingly he united the *old* with the *new* Company, and made Proposals for the Improvement of their Trade, which made some Noise in the World, and their Stock rose considerably, when all the rest were sunk. He declined being chose Governor, under his Majesty, who is always Governor; but enlisted himself as one of the Court of *Assistants*.

DR. *Arbutnot* was his Grace's great Favourite; and I opened myself freely to the Doctor; he carried me to wait on his Grace, and I had the Honour of an *Evening's* Conversation by ourselves. His Grace had elevated Notions of *Guinea*, and the Trade thereof, when rightly improved, and came to the *Point*, speaking to me, *Will you go to Guinea, Doctor, in the African Company's Service?* I answered, *to Tyburn, if your Grace pleases to send me thither.* He immediately sent for *John Drummond, Esq;* who was one of the Court of *Assistants*, and desired him to draw up my *Petition*, which was delivered next Court-day, and I was directly appointed *Physician*

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Physician and Surgeon-general to the Royal African Company's Settlements in Africa, and accordingly had my Commission and Instructions made out with all Dispatch, and was ordered to sail the very first Opportunity. I was perfectly pleased with the Thoughts of shunning *Hell*, and going to Heaven; for I knew as little of it, as his Grace did, which was nothing at all; and, having received his Grace's particular Instructions, sailed in a few Weeks.

My Instructions were ample, and would have been beneficial, if I had known how to have made a proper Use of them. No Governor for the Time being, in the Place where I was, (and I was ordered to visit all their Settlements) could ship a *Negro Slave* on the Company's Account, 'till I had first certified, *That they were merchantable Slaves*: So that I was a *Comptroller*, as well as a *Doctor*. I was ordered to the most Windward of all their Settlements, *Gambay*, and so to proceed to the most Leeward, *Whydah*; but, instead

stead of *Gambay*, I arrived first at *Sieraleon*.

THIS Factory is on a little Island, about eight Miles up a fresh Water River; by my Instructions, our first Project was making of *Pot-ash*, with which the Company proposed to serve *London*, to prevent its foreign Importation. To work I went on this little Island; there's Plenty of Wood, and I had *Negroes* at Command. I made some Barrels full of it; and sent it Home for a Sample, with my Observations on it, to the Duke of *Chandos*.

SOME Time after his Grace wrote me word, that it would not do: Yet no body could find the Reason why. I had some learned Letters from Dr. *Arbutnot* about it: But I knew from *Theory*, and was convinced by *Practice*, that the Qualities of all vegetable fixt *Salts* are the same, they only differ in Quantity, some Woods affording double, treble, quadruple the Quantity of others; and no Wood could afford a greater Quantity than this; but after our

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learned Essays, the *Soap-boilers* found it out, the Water was brackish, though they drink it there, and is eight Miles at least up a River from the Sea.

AFTER visiting their Out-factories, I arrived at their principal Settlement of *Cape Corse-castle*, where their General and Commander in Chief resided, and there I met with forty *Cornwall* Miners, with two Captains or Overseers, sent out by his Grace of *Chandos* at his own Expence, and fresh Instructions for me to perform wonderful Exploits. I staid some considerable Time here, and, after visiting the rest of their Out-factories, I arrived at *Whydah*; where I differed with the Governor, which Difference at last tended to set the Company's Affairs in a true Light: For, at my Arrival in *London*, I published to the World my *Observations* on the Coasts of *Guinea*, so far as related to the Trade of *Great Britain* in general, and the *Royal African Company* in particular; setting forth the villainous Proceedings and Mismanagements of their Agents, whom they

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 131

they stile *General*, and chief Governor, with a proper Method how to remedy those Grievances, and put the Trade on a much better Footing for the Advantage of *Great Britain*: Though, I freely confess, I published that Treatise out of the Resentment I bore to the Governor of *Whydah*, for the Injustice and Injuries done me; yet, I assure the *Reader*, he will find *Truth* in it, and some Things not unworthy his Notice; as appears by the Approbation it met with among Foreigners, who translated it into *French*, and inserted it in the *Journal des Sçavans*; but, before I published them, I sent them with the following Letter.

To his GRACE the Duke of CHANDOS.

My LORD,

“ I HAVE digested into some Order,
“ what *Observations* I made on the
“ Coast of *Africa*, from my first Arrival
“ to my Departure from thence, for the
“ Information of the Court of *Assistants*

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“ of the *Royal African Company* ; nay, I
 “ am almost persuaded to let them go
 “ naked, as they are, into the World ;
 “ which perhaps would be excused, as
 “ the last Efforts and Struggles to prevent
 “ the Murder of my Character, falsely
 “ attacked only to cloak Villany : But,
 “ methinks, it would be an unpardonable
 “ Crime, especially in me, who am sen-
 “ sible of your *Grace's* Honour, Justice,
 “ and Generosity, to attempt any Thing
 “ of this Nature, where your *Grace* has
 “ any Concern, without your Leave ;
 “ which makes me presume to send *your*
 “ *Grace* these few Sheets ; which, if your
 “ *Grace* can throw away an Hour, in
 “ your Country Retirement on them, I
 “ humbly submit to your Perusal, and can
 “ only plead their Veracity, for an Excuse
 “ of Inelegancy. But, my Lord, if there is
 “ any Thing, or all, that ought to be sup-
 “ pressed, your *Grace* has only to say the
 “ Word, and there is nothing can give
 “ me more Pleasure, than to have the
 “ Honour of an Opportunity to obey *your*
 “ *Grace's* Commands, which shall always
 “ be

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“ be with the utmost Gratitude and Re-
“ spect, punctually observed by,

“ Your Grace’s

“ most devoted, obliged,

“ and obedient, humble Servant,

London, 1724.

“ JAMES HOUSTOUN.”

HIS Grace perused the Papers, and re-
turned them to Mr. *Lynn*, Secretary to the
Company; and next Court-day I was
called before a Committee of Correspon-
dence, and my Papers demanded of me,
as being useful for the Advantage of the
Company; but before I consented to the
Delivery of my *Observations*, I gave in
my Accompts stated; and on balancing
there appeared to be 300 *l.* due to me;
and, indeed all the Gentlemen of the
Committee seemed willing, that my Ac-
compt should be passed as it was stated
and balanced, with all imaginable Dis-
patch; and not only the Balance paid,

K 3

but

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but to make me an *handsome Present*, for my faithful Services and great Sufferings, by exerting myself for the Honour and Interest of the Company; it was minuted accordingly in my Presence, by Order of the honourable Court of *Assistants*; Sir *Bibye Lake* engaged his Honour, not only as *Sub-Governor* of the Company, but as a private Gentleman, that all Manner of Justice should be done me, and the Duke of *Chandos* was also present: So I delivered up my Papers to them in Court.

BUT Mr. *Baldwyn*, late Governor at *Whydah*, my Antagonist, perceiving that his egregious Villanies must plainly appear, took occasion of waiting on several of the *Directors*, and, by using the never-failing

Argumentum ad Hominem,

managed his Affairs so dextrously, that he got an Enquiry put off, from Week to Week for several Months. At last I got a Day fixed, when, coming into the *African House*, he had procured a Warrant
to

to arrest me for an old Debt ; and, before I found Bail to the Action, the Court of *Assistants* was up ; so he gained so much Time longer on me, thro' *J—Bl—kw—d's* Means, in a mean-spirited, scoundrel Manner, and, before we came to a Trial, he gained his Purposes by a Majority of Votes of only one, whom I called *J—Dr—m—d*, Esq; which the Duke of *Chandos* never would believe or allow of, though there was nothing more certain ; for I could produce sufficient Proofs of it.

I do acknowledge, that Mr. *D—m—d* proposed reasonable Terms to me, if I would have submitted to Mr. *Baldwyn*, and forgave his bad Usage : But I despis'd him and his Terms too ; nay, not the whole *African* Stock would have tempted me ; and nothing less than *his Grace's* Commands on me, which he absolutely refused. On the contrary he countenanced and supported me in all my Efforts and Struggles against him to the very last, when he gained his *Point*, by the Force

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of what ought to have damn'd him : And all I got for my *Money* and *Pains*, was two or three hard Knocks at him : This sealed his Point effectually ; for he got me taken up by the Lord Chief Justice's Warrant, in an Action of Defamation against the *Royal African Company*, for beating their Servants, and saying, " That " no-body but *Thieves* and *Pick-pockets* " from *Newgate* ought to enter into their " Service ; " and bound me over in 30,000 *l.* Bail : But the Duke of *Chandos* extricated me from this Scrape without appearing in it, or else I must certainly have sunk under the Burden, as they design'd ; whilst *Baldwyn* escaped by the Force of his Money, and my want of both Money and Experience to prosecute him at Law, where he must have been heartily trounced, and paid severe Damages for *false Imprisonment* : For he closely confined me in *Africa*, for refusing to sign his Certificates which were absolutely false, as I published to the World in 1725. Though I verily believe, had it not been for the Precipitancy and Violence of my
own

own natural Temper, a great deal too much at that Time, to be checked by my Understanding, I had not missed of my Aim in procuring Justice with the Assistance of his Grace the Duke of Chandos, whose innate Humanity and Generosity always led him to do Justice to the *Distressed* and *Oppressed*; but I never had any Money of his Grace, for I always endeavour'd to conceal my Wants from his Generosity; and the *African* Company owes me this Balance of 300*l.* to this very Day, and I am afraid will never be less in my Debt; for which, with innumerable such other Instances of Non-payments, they were d—— destroyed.

THIS Violence of Temper reverses one of the very best and surest Maxims in Life,

Lentè suscipe, & cito perſice :

For, on this very Maxim depends the Success of most Transactions in human Life, and Miscarriages to the Neglect of it; as in this, and many other particular Instances
which

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which in the Course of my Life-time I have severely felt.

Nunca levantar la Mano, hasta que se puede dar el golpe.

I had this Maxim from a Jesuit, and felt the Weight of it from himself, as appears in the Sequel.

Now I had Leisure and Reason enough to reflect on my mispent Time. I lived almost three Years in this Scene of Life, as widely different from what I had been in formerly, as *Paris* is from *Barbary*. I was obliged to keep Company with, and be subjected to a Parcel of People inferior in Conversation and Behaviour, even to the meanest Sort that ever I had then known: Besides, there's something in the Climate that infects them, by turning *Humanity* into *Barbarity*; it alters human Nature, and converts them into a brutish, barbarous Disposition, without any Bowels of Compassion. I could give a thousand Instances, but I forbear. Those who have the superior Command are as absolute
as

as the *Great Mogul*, and as void of *Humanity* as *Barbarity* itself.

As for my own Part, I retired entirely within myself, except the Time I went to Meals: For I always eat at the General's, (*Company's Table*) by Order of the Court of Assistants our Masters, who gave a very handsome Allowance for a Table for their Principal Servants, whilst their *Factors* and *Writers*, who were not allowed to eat at that Table, were starving for Want, their Allowance being so very small, and Provisions very scarce and dear there. I have known some of them starved even unto Death. They ought to have been put under the Regulations for Diet in the Manner I prescribed to them in my *Observations*.

I CONSIDERED with myself thus; I am suffering for my own Follies, and it is better to be in this Gaol, than in a Gaol in *England*: But then the Thoughts of getting out of it, if possible; for all my *golden Dreams*, that I had formed to myself about *Africa*, were by this time quite
vanished

vanished into Air: My Business now, thought I, was to make the best of a bad Bargain.

I FOUND no Way they had of making Money, but by imposing on the *Company*, for they were all sworn, from the highest to the lowest of them, except the *Doctors* of *Soul* and *Body*, "not to trade upon their own Account, nor to have the least Communication with interloping Ships, (*ridiculous Instructions!*) under the severest Penalty." The General, or Governors took Care to put this in Execution strictly, against all under their Command.

I HAVE known a *Factor* lie ten Days with his Head in the Stocks, only for going on board an interloping Merchant-ship, and buying a few Trifles, Provisions, &c. that the Governors might have the more room to monopolize the Whole for themselves, which they served out again, at a most extravagant Rate, to the poor starved People under them; which Practices I always abhorred. But, when I was

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 141

was fully convinced of the only Methods how Money was to be got amongst them; I came to a firm Resolution, at all Hazards, to push for my Share of it, which I put in Execution at *Whydah*, where there was a very great Trade carried on by all Nations, particularly by the *Portuguese*, in Gold Dust, &c. from *Brazil*.

OUR Governor, *Ambr-se B-ldw-n*, Esq; would have *slaved* two or three of these *Portuguese* Ships, from eight to nine Ounces of Gold Dust each Negroe *per* Head on his own Account, and made an equal Number of the Company's Ships wait, till he found more Slaves for them; and, by our Masters Instructions, he could not ship a Slave on the Company's Account without my certifying, *that they were merchantable Slaves*; and I had signed three or four Times without considering or enquiring into Affairs.

At last I gave our Governor to understand, that I knew perfectly well how the
Game

Game went, that I was positively resolved to sign no more, and that he must stand and fall by himself. I do acknowledge, that he did make me some Offers to come into his Measures, which I despised, and look'd upon him and his Offers too with Scorn: At the same Time I don't pretend to be more virtuous than my Neighbours; but I might be *led*, but could never be *drove*. He did not attack on the right Side, and I always carried the old *Scotch* Proverb strongly rooted in me,

Ne'er to gang to the De'el with a Dish-clout:

As the Duke of *Argyll* observed in one of his Speeches in the House of Lords, haranguing about *Bribery* and *Corruption*; that they never came to his *Price*; but his Grace had a much better Way of managing than by *Bribery* and *Corruption*, as before taken notice of.

I NEVER did plead *Honesty* for myself by Words, for all Men are to shew their
Honesty

Honesty by their *Deeds*, and not *Words*: It is only the *designing* Villain who praises his own *Honesty* by *Words*; but I can say with a safe Conscience, "That I have
" been as honest in all my Dealings as
" most Men that I have dealt with, and
" a great deal too honest for some of
" them;" for which I have suffered and do heartily repent of, as the Cause of my own *Failings*, putting it out of my own Power to answer the Demands on me punctually and gratefully; for it is no Excuse in *moral Honesty*, to say, "That I have
" more Money owing to me than I owe
" to others;" though shewing and balancing Books is some Sort of Satisfaction in a Mercantile Way.

HOWEVER, our Governor and I differ'd, whilst he made 30,000 *l.* he put it out of my Power, by his insolently despotic Government, to make 30,000 *d.* in that Time; and confined me close Prisoner for one and thirty Days to force me into Measures, and then only gave me Liberty, on Condition, that I immediately

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ately went off the Coast ; for he wanted to get rid of me at any rate : Of all which Transactions, I gave a full Account on my Arrival in *London*, with sufficient Proofs of what I published in the Year 1725, for the Use of the Court of Assistants, as aforesaid.

IN those *Observations* I again assure the Reader, that he'll find nothing but Truth, and I told the whole Truth to the Duke of *Chandos*, my very good Friend, and let his Grace into the original Source and secret Springs of all their Transactions and Affairs abroad, which he was an entire Stranger to ; for I found out all their Ways at last, *ad amussim*, so undeceived him at once ; and then he sold out all his *Stock*, which was very considerable ; on which the *African Company's* Stock fell to little or nothing.

IT is a general Mistake, and a vulgar Error of the first Concoction, to imagine that any *Trade*, or Branch of Trade, can
possibly

possibly be confined by any Nation, or particular Set of People, or Company of that Nation where different, or all Nations, have the same Liberty and Property to that Trade: For Trade is a Mistress to be courted and not forced; she delights in Freedom, and readily confers her Favours on all that treat her kindly: But is unwillingly confined to any particular Place, or Set of Men; especially when it is her Right to be left to her own Choice and Freedom.

THIS was clearly exemplified by the Conduct of this Company in all its different Shapes: Whilst in its Infant State, under the Direction of his Highness the late Duke of York, they were at very great Expence in building their Castles, Forts, &c. and were then a Monopoly, which raised the Price of Negroes to such an extravagant Rate, which must have ended, if it had not been timely prevented, in the entire Ruin of all our *American* Infant Settlements and Colonies.

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NEXT their laying the Trade open to all Interlopers, paying 10 *per Cent.* to the Company, was equally destructive to the Nation in general; whilst all other Nations had the free Liberty of that Trade, without paying any Duty at all, and consequently able and willing enough to under-sell us in all Markets.

AT last the Government was obliged to take this Trade under their Consideration, being in danger of losing it entirely, and of having it fall into the Hands of foreign Nations, and to support the Garrisons at the national Charge, which, of all Methods, in my humble Opinion, is the best, provided always they make a proper Use of these Castles, Forts, &c. by turning them into Magazines and Store-houses, and always keeping them well provided with all proper Assortments of Goods to supply the Trade in general, and the *British* in particular; which would enhance the whole Trade, and ingross the Prices of Negroes entirely to ourselves; and draw great Store of Wealth from all other Nations trading thither, especially the *Portuguese*

lugueze from *Brazil*, to our Mother Country in Gold-dust and other Commodities; and Slaves would come out much cheaper from the many, constant, and convenient Opportunities of watching and purchasing on the Spot, and of the quick Dispatch in selling; and so the Returns would increase proportionably.

THIS is a most beneficial Trade for the Nation in general, if rightly managed by exporting the Product and Manufactures of our Mother Country, and furnishing our *American Colonies* with *Negroes* cheaper than our Neighbours are able to do, and underselling them in foreign Markets. A *Negro* purchased in *Guinea* for ten Pounds in Goods, to produce three hundred Pieces of eight in Specie in the *Spanish West-Indies*, one of the *best Branches* of our national Trade, which ought to be incorporated into the *Royal Assiento* Trade for *Negroes*, without any exclusive Clause in the Treaty agreed on, referred to by the before-mentioned *Observations*, wherein is said, "What a
" glorious and advantageous Trade this

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“ is, every *European* Society, as well as
 “ private interloping Trader, must be
 “ sensible of, as it is the Hinge on which
 “ all the Trade of this Globe moves;
 “ for, put a Stop to the peopling the *Eu-*
 “ *ropean* Plantations Abroad, which could
 “ be done from no other Country but
 “ this, without depopulating *Europe*; I
 “ say, put a Stop to the *Slave-trade*, and
 “ all the others cease of course. Pray,
 “ who digs the rich Mines of *Peru*, *Bra-*
 “ *zil*, &c. Nay, who sweetens the La-
 “ dies Tea, and the generous Bowl? And
 “ who reaps the Profit of all? Therefore
 “ let every true *Briton* unanimously join
 “ to concert Measures, how to centre this
 “ advantageous Trade in *England*; and
 “ I wish it could be carried on by the
 “ *Royal African Company*, who hitherto
 “ have been greater Losers than Gainers
 “ by it; a Trade so greedily grasp'd at
 “ by the laborious *Dutch*, which they
 “ purchased by the Property of *Brazil*,
 “ in lieu of it. 'Tis only incumbent on
 “ me, as an Observator, to lay before
 “ your Honours what occurred to me as
 “ Hindrances to the Company's Interest,
 “ in

“ in respect to other *European* Nations,
“ and in particular, by the *English* Inter-
“ lopers ; for, as to other Nations, the
“ *Dutch* are the only formidable Anta-
“ gonists we have to deal with.* This
“ *Dutch* Guinea Company is an united
“ Branch of their *India* Company, of
“ which the *States General* bear the great-
“ est Share, exclusive of all interloping
“ Traders of their own Nation, besides a
“ Tax of 10 *per Cent.* on all the *Portu-*
“ *gueze* Ships trading to this Coast, which
“ they had granted them as an Article,
“ in exchanging *Brazil* with the *Portu-*
“ *gueze*, in lieu of this Trade ; which
“ they strictly demand, and keep a Man
“ of War a cruizing always on the Coast,
“ to put their Orders in Execution, as
“ well against the *Portugueze*, as the in-
“ terloping Ships of their own Nation.
“ So it plainly appears to your Honours,
“ what great Advantages that Company
“ has over ours ; and, indeed, as I have
“ only the Interest of *Britain* at Heart,
“ I cou’d and do wish from my very

L 3

“ Soul

* Now the *French* are more dangerous to us than the *Dutch*.

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“ Soul, that his most gracious Majesty,
“ who honours your Society by being
“ your Governor, wou’d take into his
“ Consideration in Council, and, by Con-
“ sent of Parliament, grant your Com-
“ pany a conditional, *exclusive Charter* :
“ For it is unreasonable to expect or de-
“ mand such a one as your Company had
“ formerly, whilst under the Direction
“ of the Duke of *York*, in King *Charles*
“ the Second’s Reign ; the sad Effects of
“ which plainly appeared by the nu-
“ merous Complaints of his Majesty’s Sub-
“ jects of his Plantations beyond Sea ;
“ which, if carried any higher, must
“ have tended to their utter Ruin and
“ Extirpation. Nor is it to be supposed,
“ that even now, if the Company had an
“ unlimited, exclusive Charter, that their
“ Agents wou’d furnish his Majesty’s
“ Plantations with Slaves at 30 or 40 *l.*
“ *per* Head of that Country Money ;
“ whereas, in a few Days they can waft
“ them over to the *Spanish American*
“ Coast, where they fetch 300 Pieces of
“ Eight *per* Head, including the King
“ of *Spain’s* Taxes, and other Duties,
“ which

“ which makes them come out at above
“ 60 *l.* Sterling; a Price that won't an-
“ swer with our *American* Plantations:
“ But if his Majesty's Subjects were to
“ compute their yearly Demand of Ne-
“ groes that are absolutely necessary for
“ their Service, which might be easily
“ done; and at the same Time if his Ma-
“ jesty would be pleased to grant the *Roy-*
“ *al African Company*, either singly, or
“ united with the *South-Sea Company*, a
“ Charter conditionally, to be obliged to
“ furnish his Majesty's Plantations with
“ their Quota of Slaves, demanded at
“ 30 *l.* of the Country Money *per* Head,
“ including Children above eight or Ten
“ Years of Age; which might both an-
“ swer the Ends of the Planters of our
“ *American* Plantations, and enable the
“ Company to carry on a Trade, not only
“ exclusive of all *English* Interlopers, but
“ to enhance the Trade solely to them-
“ selves, exclusive of all other Nations,
“ and to fetch into *England*, from the
“ Manufactures and Commodities of our
“ own Country, above a Million of Money.

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“ Sterling yearly in ready Specie ; which
 “ is entirely stified at present, through
 “ the Inability of the Company's Strug-
 “ gling with such Difficulties, as the great
 “ Charge of the Company's maintaining
 “ their Settlements Abroad, whilst Inter-
 “ lopers come to take the Bread out of
 “ their Mouths ; and even assisted in so
 “ doing by their own Agents, to serve
 “ their own mercenary Ends ; whilst thus
 “ weakening one another, the *Dutch*,
 “ never forgetful of their own Interest,
 “ assisted by other Nations, come in to
 “ carry off the Profit of both. Such
 “ a limited Charter as this, where there
 “ is not one Objection left against it, put
 “ into the Hands of any Society, empow-
 “ ering them to raise a sufficient Sum of
 “ Money to carry on that Trade, wou'd
 “ not only enable us to furnish our Quota
 “ of Slaves, *viz.* 4800 *per Ann.* to the
 “ *Spaniards*, as stipulated by the *Affiento*
 “ Contract, and to make good former
 “ Deficiencies ; but naturally bring the
 “ *Slave Trade* entirely into our Hands,
 “ exclusive of all other Nations ; so con-
 sequently

“ frequently reap the Fruits of the *Ame-*
“ *rican* Mines, which they only give
“ themselves the Trouble to dig, but in
“ Hopes of such a glorious and advanta-
“ geous Trade to *England*.”

I THEN acquainted his Grace of my Intentions of going abroad in the Service of the Honourable *South-Sea* Company, and begged his Grace's Countenance and Favour. He answered, with a Soul equal to himself, *I will serve you*: For I knew but few equal to him, so magnificently Good! his Soul was a Composition of *Humanity* and *Generosity*.

I HAVE heard his Grace say, “ That
“ he had given away a better Estate, than
“ he then possessed ;” and this fifteen
Years at least before he died. His Grace's Favours were so general, that I must own some of them were bestowed on very worthless and ungrateful Persons, which I could easily account for ; but his Grace's Intentions were always the same, *Great* and *Good* ! Tho' *Times* and *Manners* are unaccountable,

O Tem-

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O Tempora! O Mores!

His *Generosity, Liberality, and Charity* always led him to do good Offices, assist the *Distressed and Oppressed*.

He wanted that I should be first reconciled to *John Drummond*, of whom I had a very bad Opinion, which I never concealed from himself, nor from his Grace; and he took a most effectual Method of doing it.

"*To Dr. HOUSTOUN.*

"*S I R,*

"*I HAVE sent the Letter, you de-*
"*fired to Sir John Eyles in your*
"*Behalf, to Mr. Drummond, to whom*
"*you must apply for it; having entirely*
"*left it to his Pleasure, whether he de-*
"*liver it you or not. I am,*

"*Sir,*

"*Your very humble Servant*

"*CHANDOS.*"

THIS

THIS was the first Submission that ever I made in my Life, and to a Man I really hated : But it was his *Grace's* Commands ; no other Consideration on Earth could have prevailed on me. I was resolved to obey, but I could not divest myself of *unalterable* Nature : I went to Mr. *Drummond's* ; (but it was like going to *Hell*!) “ I am come, Sir, said I, by the “ Duke of *Chandos's* Command, for that “ Letter to Sir *John Eyles*.”—“ Did the “ Duke, Sir, said he, command me to “ give it you ?”—“ That is, as you please, “ Sir. He answered, “ Or as you deserve, “ Sir.”—“ Pray, Sir, give it me, or keep “ it, as you please:” For I was quite ready to burst : So I made a Bow and was coming away. Then he desired me to sit down, and have a little Patience, and began a Story of a Cock and a Bull ; so that I could not contain myself, and said, “ You know, Sir, that I know you ; “ that's nothing to my Purpose at present ; “ give me the Letter, or keep it.” And away I came ; he followed me to the Door, and said, “ Here, take it ! there's not

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"not such another Man in the whole
"World!" So I came off, flying as from
the Devil.

I DELIVERED the Letter to Sir *John*
Eyles, who was the compleatest Gentleman,
take him in all respects, that ever I knew.
Some Days after his Grace of *Chandos* did
me the Honour to carry me in his own
Chariot to Sir *John*, and said some kinder
Things of me than I chuse to mention.
Sir *John* desired me to put in my Petition
to the Court of Directors; and the Court-
day following, I was appointed Surgeon
to the Royal *Assiento* Company's Factory, at
Cartagena in *America*.

THOUGH I was an entire Stranger to
such a beneficial Branch of Trade in-
grafted in a Company with 40,000,000
Sterling Stock, I set out on my Voyage
with great Chearfulness, expecting to meet
with Abroad a set of Gentlemen of good
Education, thinking they could be nothing
less who were distinguished with such ho-
nourable and profitable Employments:

But

But I was greatly disappointed; for when I arrived, in the Year 1724, at the Factory at *Cartagena*, I did not find any of our Factors with the least Tincture of a Gentleman in him, except one, and he was over-born (or, as I may rather say, over-laid) by a termagante, *Billingsgate* Woman.

I WAS greatly surprized at their Conversation, especially at Table, to hear them take and give one another the *Lye*, with other very low Expressions; which they termed *Freedom* and *Liberty of Conversation*: But I own I never heard the like, not even in *Africa*; for their Conversation there at Table, though low, was decent, owing, if not out of Respect, to the Awe they had of their Governor.

HOWEVER, at *Cartagena* I made myself quite easy, for I was under no Restraint or Subjection, farther than to mind my Business, which was easily done; and I had a large Field for Conversation among the *Spaniards*, especially the *Ladies*, who have the best and strongest *Genius* of all Nations

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Nations for *Intrigues* which, answered my Purpose of acquiring the *Spanish Language*, &c. and, whenever our *Factors* began their shocking Conversation, I endeavour-
ed to turn it into Ridicule, by way of *Farce*, which I represented next Day to them in some such Manner as this :

The *Persons* of the P L A Y.

'Squire <i>Tittle-tattle</i> ,	first Factor.
Capt. <i>Brute</i> ,	second Factor.
Sir <i>John Mundungus</i> ,	third Factor.
Don <i>Ferdinando Punto</i> ,	fourth Factor.
Monfieur <i>le Medicin</i> ,	Harlequin.

Doña *Leonora de villa Hermosa*,
My Lady *Mundungus*,
Miss *Mundungus*,
Mulattoes and *Negroes*, waiting Wo-
men.

I NEVER saw a stronger Instance of the Force of Example than this ; upon Rehearsal every one took his own Part, and took it in good part too, for they were their own Words almost *verbatim*, and stood

stood reprimanded with good Humour, and often turned the Conversation so far, if not quite polite, as to render it tolerably easy.

THE old *Foible*, *Division among ourselves*, peculiar to the *British* Nation, as I have frequently mentioned, and always observed, appears in lively Colours in our *Factories* abroad; where, if you find five, six, or more People (*British*) in a Factory, you'll certainly see them pulling so many different Ways; whereas, if they all pulled one Way together, they would infallibly pull so much the more Money to each Individual, and proportionably to their *Masters*. This *Animosity* is greatly detrimental to *Commerce* in general, and to *Monopolies* and private Traders in particular: For these are true Maxims, "He that cannot, or
" will not, *make Money for himself*, nei-
" ther can, nor will make Money for his
" *Masters*; and, If Masters don't give suit-
" able Encouragement to their Servants,
" they never will be well and faithfully
" served."

I SHALL not enter into that long controverted Point, Whether *Trade* is carried on most for a National Advantage by *Monopolies in Company*, or a *free Trade* by private Traders? as it makes nothing at all to our Purpose; for this Trade to the *Spanish West-Indies* is prohibited to all Nations, Companies, and private Traders whatsoever, by repeated Treaties agreed upon by all *European* Potentates, unless the Goods are sent to *Spain*, and shipt on the *Gal- leons*, or *Flota*, registred by his *Catholick* Majesty, and subjected to his Duties and *Indulto*; always, excepting his *Catholick* Majesty is pleased to grant to any Nation, by a particular Treaty, the Liberty of introducing into his *American* Dominions, a certain Number of *Slaves* for a limited Time, for the Use of his Subjects there: Such as he granted first to the *Portuguese*, then to the *French*, and now to the *British*, commonly called, *The Assiento Contract*, for allowing to the Subjects of *Great Britain* the Liberty of introducing *Negroes*, &c. into *Spanish America*, as you'll see by an exprefs Article in the Treaty

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 161

Treaty of *Utrecht*, concluded and ratified between her Majesty of *Great Britain*, Queen *Anne*, and his *Catholick* Majesty of *Spain*, in the Year 1713.

EVERY body, who has been in the least acquainted with the four last Years of Queen *Anne*'s Reign, knows that *France* was then greatly reduced by the long War, and wanted *Peace* at any rate. At this very critical Juncture our *new British* Ministers were struggling hard, to get the better of the ousted Party, the *Whigs*: Therefore, to serve their own Purposes, more easily hearkened to the smooth and artful Offers of *France*, at a Time when we might have had our own Terms; and accordingly there were some Proposals made pretty extravagant and unreasonable, of which I shall only mention one to the Point in Hand.

"THAT a *free Trade* should be granted for the *British* Subjects to the *Spanish West-Indies*."

M

BUT

BUT our then Prime Minister, *Harley*, prudently enough foresaw what Umbrage this would give to the rest of *Europe*, especially the trading Part of it, which would necessarily create such Jealousies and Animosities amongst them, that, though the then present Flame of War might be extinguished for a Time, it would very soon re-kindle, and burn with double Force; so that he artfully changed that Article into the following.

“ THAT certain Conditions shall be
 “ entered into, with needful Privileges
 “ for the *British* Merchants, to contract
 “ with the *Spaniards* for the *Assiento*, or
 “ Trade to *America* in *Negroes*, with such
 “ a limited Trade to *America* as should
 “ be agreed on.”

WHICH was so contrived, and agreed to in such a Manner, if rightly executed according to the original Plan laid down, as to have fairly laid open all the Parts of the *Spanish West-Indies* to the *British* Trade, without giving the least Umbrage

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 163
to any other Nation of *Europe*. what-
ever.

THIS was a Legacy of the late Great Lord of *Oxford*, the most valuable, for his Country, of any I remember from our first Ministers; excepting that inestimable *Jewel* from the late Lord *Godolphin*, the UNION of the two Crowns.* I met with a Gentleman in the *West-Indies*, in the Company's Service, very well qualified for the Post he enjoyed, *chief Supercargo* of one of the Company's *annual Ships*, who really was a Man of Letters; but had as much or more *Vanity* than myself, which surprized me greatly, to find myself out-done in my own Way and Humour, by one of a better Understanding; though, it is true, he had a much larger Field to exercise it in, from his superior Station: And had it not been for this Strength of Understanding, improved by Letters and Experience, which over-swayed his *Vanity*, instead of being a very clever and well-accomplished Gentle-

M 2 *man,*

* See *Memorial*, in the APPENDIX, Numb. II.

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man, as he really was, he must have turned out a *meer Coxcomb*.

I soon contracted an intimate Acquaintance with him, liked his Company and Conversation, being by far the best in that Place, and he seemed not to dislike mine; so that I was constantly with him, and we took a Trip to the *Fair* at *Porto-bello* together: At which Time, in the Year 1728, there happened a Rupture between the two Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Spain*: I cannot call it *War*, for it seemed to be more like a *Sham*, than any thing else.

THE *Galleons* were all arrived in the Harbour of *Porto-bello*, with only three *Line-of-battle* Ships for their Guard: The *Fair* was proclaimed, the last Bale of their Goods was landed, and all the Money of the Commerce of *Peru* was brought down from *Panama* to *Porto-bello*, which, at a modest Calculation, reckoning the Money registred and unregistred, amounted to 30,000,000 Pieces of Eight, when
Admiral

Admiral *Hofier* arrived, without the least Knowledge or Suspicion, either of the *Spaniards* or *English*, with a Squadron of eleven Sail of Line-of-battle Ships; and in a few Hours might have made himself Master of all this Treasure, in Money and Goods, amounting to double the Sum above-mentioned, with little or no Resistance: For he had Strength enough to have blown them into the Air in a few Hours Time; and the Surprize left them no room for Defence, incredible though certain! and never to be forgiven, *Feau-pas!* the original Source of all our Embroils, and irretrievable Misfortunes, not only with *Spain*, but with the rest of *Europe*; instead of being the *Umpire* of *Europe*, to become the *Dupes* and laughing Stock of all;

Quis talia fando temperet à lachrymis!

Admiral *Hofier* sent Capt. *Medley* ashore with a Message to the President of *Panama*, and to the General of the *Galleons*, acquainting them, "That he did not
" come in a hostile Manner, to treat them

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“as Enemies, but only as a Squadron of
 “Observation, and to demand the *South-*
 “*Sea* Company's Ship, the *Royal George*;
 “(which was never detained) *ridiculous*
 “*Nonsense!*” For this Affair was com-
 pleted before the Arrival of the *British*
 Squadron: The whole Cargo was sold, and
 the Cash all ready to be paid in, as fast
 as they could receive it. I was at the re-
 ceiving of it, and the whole very dexte-
 rously negociated by a Gentleman who
 knew how to manage the *Spaniards* in
 their own Way, better than any one that
 ever I knew abroad in the *South-Sea* Com-
 pany's Service.

I WAS privy to all the Epistolary
 Correspondence between the two Admi-
 rals, having the Honour to be intimately
 acquainted with Don *Francisco Cornejo*,
 General and Commander in Chief of the
Galleons; and, each of them writing in
 his own Country Language, the General
 of the *Galleons* scarce ever received a Let-
 ter from Admiral *Hofier* without sending
 for me to be his Interpreter: But I had
 not

not the Honour to know Admiral *Hofier* farther than by his Letters to the *General*; and I freely own, had a School-boy under my Care wrote such Letters, I would have ordered him to be whipt;

THE *General* always wrote with his own Hand to Admiral *Hofier*, as in all polite Nations one *Gentleman* does to another who is his equal, and the *Admiral* corresponded in his own Hand, but wrote great Nonsense, and never a Word was right spelt: The *General* had an *Irish* Gentleman on board of him, in whom he confided, whose Name was *Daniel O'Hony*, and his first Lieutenant, (as honest a Man as ever I knew) to whom he used to commit the *Admiral's* Letters for Interpretation, who made them greater Nonsense, if possible, than they were before. Upon my being consulted, I told Don *Daniel*, that he had forgot his *English*; and so used to make the most of them, to the best of my Judgment, begging his *Admiral-ship's* Pardon, for his as well as our Country's Honour.

ADMIRAL *Hosier* might have been an exceeding good Sea-officer, for ought I know, and, had he come to dispute with Don *Francisco* with the *ultima ratio Regum*, he might have got the better of him, at least I wished so; but, in *Politicks*, he was far inferior to him; Don *Francisco* was a polite Gentleman, a good Officer, one of strong natural Understanding, and a Man of Honour and Integrity; but our Admiral, was a mere rough, vulgar *Tarr*.

ADMIRAL *Hosier* lay at the *Bastimentos* (three Leagues distant from *Porto-bello*) with his Squadron, when the General of the *Galleons* continued safe in the Harbour of *Porto-bello* with his Fleet; throwing up Breast-works and Batteries for their better Defence, and put all their Castles in the best Order, whilst the Admiral was losing his Men by thousands, through a Mortality that visited them. And, whatever Term Mr. *Hosier* might use for this *sham Expedition*, the cunning *Spaniard* called it a *Reprisalia*; and accordingly seized all the

Com-

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 169

Company's Effects, except the *Royal George*, which was now safe, all her Cargo sold, and the Cash on board the *British* Squadron.

ADMIRAL *Hofler* had stopped a Parcel of Bomb-boats, *Periagua's*, Canoes, &c. with Provisions for *Porto-bello*; so the Governors of *Cartagena* and *Porto-bello* detained the Company's Vessels in Harbour; on which the General of the *Gal*leons concerted and agreed with the Admiral, to set all Vessels then in Custody on both Sides at Liberty, for this Time only.

I BEGAN now to be very uneasy with the Thoughts of being taken Prisoner, being absent from our Factory at *Cartagena*; so I embraced this Opportunity to make the best of my Way back thither, and carried the Articles of Agreement between the two Admirals along with me.

DON *Lewis a Ponti*, Governor of *Cartagena*, who had more Understanding in his

his little Finger, than all our Factory put together had in their whole Body, (*Savia Mucho*, he was an exceeding clever Man) having detained one of the Company's Vessels in the Harbour, with about 100,000 Pieces of Eight on board, when I delivered him the Copy of the Articles, he gave a shrug with his Shoulders, and said, "Bid your first Factor, *Squire Tittle-*
tattle, come to me, for you have no Concern in this Affair, and I desire that you would not meddle in it."—He told the old Fellow, (I was going to say, *old Fool*) "That he did not think that Money safe on board, and desired the Factors to bring it ashore, and put it into the Hands of Don *Domingo Miranda*." In short, he perswaded our Factors to go on board themselves and fetch the Money: But Don *Domingo*, no doubt, having had his Lesson before-hand, positively refused the Trust. The Governor then told them, "That the best and safest Place was the *King's Chest*;" and there it was deposited, and all done by themselves, without any Compulsion, and brought about by
mere

mere Strength of a superior Understanding: For, if they had not done it themselves, he would have been obliged, by the Articles of Agreement, to have let the Vessel go, as she then lay, Money and all.

DON Lewis could easily shake off the Governor, and put on the polite Gentleman, after this Victory, which was too easy a Conquest. When he had got the Money into his Clutches, he was in high Spirits, and invited us all to *Dinner*: And, after I parted from my Friend and Patron, (I made his House my Home) the Jokes went round, for he was a great Joker; he told our Factors, " The Money was now
" *in salvâ Custodiâ*, in a great strong Iron
" Chest, that even Fire itself could not
" destroy it, and that it had three great,
" strong Locks: Now, said he, Squire
" *Tittle-tattle* do you take one Key, and
" Capt. *Brute* shall take another, and leave
" the third for me, so you are two to one
" against me; and, if you should take a
" Trip to *England*, you'll be sure of your
" Money

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"Money at your Return." But, alas! they no sooner turned their Backs on *Bocobica* than the three Locks turned into one, and the Chest flew open with a Jirk, and the *Company* suffers for Senior *a Ponti's* Joke, and their *Factor's* Ignorance, to this very Day.

HOWEVER severely the *Company's* Affairs were handled, our Persons were treated with Humanity and good Manners, whilst we were Prisoners, by this Gentleman, who detained us for some Months, and then sent us to *Jamaica*, with our private Interest, not in the least touched.

I STAYED about twelve Months in *Jamaica*, and then made the best of my Way for *London*, where I was received by *Sir John Eyles* with his usual Sweetness of Temper, and Politeness in Behaviour, peculiar to himself; for he seemed to receive the Favours, he was granting, by his Countenance and Courtship.

I WAS immediately continued in the Honourable Company's Service, which entitled me to my Sallary during the whole Time of the *Reprisalia*; and I was likewise re-imbursed for my Expences on the Voyage Home. Sir John asked me, "How I liked the Service, and the Country?" I answered, "That, for the short Time I had been there, I liked it exceedingly well: That, in my humble Opinion, it was a most beneficial Branch of Commerce to the Nation in general; and, when rightly managed, advantageous to the Company in particular: And that every Servant, in the Honourable Company's Service abroad, may make Money enough, according to his Station, without interfering with, or the least Detriment accruing to the Company." I then took notice of the great Disadvantage, arising in the Company's Service, from such an odd Medley of Servants; who are indeed their Representatives abroad: You'll find a *Bacallão* Merchant amongst the principal Factors, because he can talk a little Spanish;

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nish;—a mere *Tarr*, bred before the
Mast, because he has a Friend in the
Court of *Directors*, that makes a bawling
Noise in it, and will be heard;—a *broken*
Tradesman, because he is represented as
an Object of Charity, and must be provi-
ded for out of Compassion;—a *young Gen-*
tleman, who has been at the Academy,
and learnt to ride the Great-horse, dance,
&c. because he is recommended from
Court; with *Et-cæteras* in abundance!
By this Composition is represented the
trading Part of the *British* Nation, a-
mongst a cunning, subtle, and sagacious
People, the *Spaniards*: Though, I own,
I have seen many Refuse amongst them
too; but their *Governors* are generally
Men of good Sense and Penetration; and
it is on them the principal Business of the
Factory depends.

No-BODY had a more extensive and
better Knowledge of Commerce, in all its
different Branches, than Sir *John Eyles*;
for he was a thorough Merchant, as well
as a compleat Gentleman; and he had
made

made it his particular Study to get a full Knowledge of this Trade, carried on under the *Affiento Treaty*; and indeed he knew it even to the minutest Circumstance, and would have brought it to the greatest Perfection, the Advantage of the Nation in general, and the Company in particular; had not a *Dæmoniac* Spirit of Envy, Malice, and Detraction prevented his laudable Designs.

THIS Run against Sir *John* was very politically fomented and carried on by the *Dutch*, to serve their own interested Views, viz. to destroy our *Whale-fishery* in *Greenland*, at that Time daily improving, and carried on by the *South-Sea Company*: They bought up large Shares of *South-Sea Stock*, by the Hands of their Friends, who made a very great Noise in the general Courts against this *Fishery*, as disadvantageous to the Company, and set on foot only for the Advantage of some Gentlemen in the *Direction*, levelling their Speeches at Sir *John*.

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IT is true, at their first fitting out Vessels, procuring expert Fishermen, trained up in that Trade, and breeding up others, was a very great Draw-back on the Company, and they were annually considerable Losers: But, these Difficulties once got over, we should have become as expert in it as the *Dutch* themselves, and supported this beneficial Trade to the Nation in general, and to the Company in particular: And the principal Instrument, the *Dutch* made use of to accomplish this Design, was one of their own Countrymen, whom Sir John, out of his superlative Goodness, had introduced into the *Direction* as a Friend. It is therefore, we see, of dangerous Consequence to trust any *Foreigner* in the Direction of any trading Company; and the *Dutch* know this Maxim so well, that it is prohibited in their own Country, by an Order of the *States General*.

SIR John's good Intentions and Judgment further appear by the proper Regulations he put the Factories under, at the

Re-

Re-establishment of the *Affiento* in the Year 1729, to prevent Division amongst themselves, when he made it the Interest of every Individual to unite; and the more Service they did for their Masters, the more Advantage accrued to every one in particular: But even all that would not do; therefore, his Patience being quite tired out, with the unkind Fatigues they gave him for his good Services, he resolved to resign the Government of this Company, on which he made the following Speech to the Court of Directors.

“Gentlemen,

“I HAVE now had the Honour to
“serve near twelve Years, as Sub-
“Governor of this Company, and have
“always endeavoured to discharge the
“Trust reposed in me with Diligence
“and Fidelity; but confess I have con-
“tinued much longer in this Chair, than
“I ever proposed, and it is well known
“to many Gentlemen, how desirous I
“was to have quitted it about six Years
“ago.

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“ I HAVE spent the best of my Life in
 “ this Employment ; my Constitution has
 “ suffered very much from the perpetual
 “ Cares and Anxieties attending it : It is
 “ high time to lay down so weighty a
 “ Burden, and I thought it my Duty to
 “ give you this early Notice of my Inten-
 “ tion, that you may turn your Thoughts
 “ upon some more worthy Person, to sup-
 “ ply my Place at the ensuing Election.

“ I AM sorry to say, that, by so many
 “ Years Experience, I have learnt, that,
 “ from the natural Vicissitude of Things
 “ and the Variety of Transactions, Opi-
 “ nions, Tempers, and Views in trading
 “ Societies, it is scarce possible for the
 “ same Man always to please, without a
 “ very uncommon Degree of Prudence
 “ and Moderation.

“ THE Difficulty is also encreased by
 “ a Fatality arising from the very Nature
 “ of the Trade carried on under the *Assi-*
 “ *ento Treaty* ; for, tho’ it is certainly in
 “ itself a *profitable Commerce*, and in ma-

“ ny

“ny respects beneficial to the Nation;
“provided it could be protected by that
“Faith, which ought to be inviolably
“preserved in the Execution of Treaties
“between two Nations; yet it must be
“allowed, that the *Spaniards* have not
“only *thrice* seized and confiscated the
“*Company's Effects*, under Pretence of
“War; but, having been made sensible
“of the great Advantage the Company
“and Nation might reap from it, have,
“perhaps, from that Reason too, found
“frequent Means to interrupt the Re-
“turns, and thereby disappoint the ex-
“pected Gains: And these Disappoint-
“ments have been too much magnified
“by those who imagine it to be their
“more immediate Interest, that the Trade
“to the *Spanish West-Indies* should be re-
“strained to the ancient Channel, by the
“Way of *Cadiz* only, and who, it may
“be, have not considered, that whene-
“ver the *Assiento* and *annual Ship* shall
“fall into the Hands of any other Nation,
“the same Quantity of Goods will still
“be sent to the *Spanish West-Indies*, in

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“ the same Way, with this essential Dif-
“ ference, that they will not be the Ma-
“ nufactures of *Great Britain*; or, should
“ the Annual Ship be discontinued, this
“ Nation only will, in all Probability, suf-
“ fer by the encreased Trade at *Cadiz*.

“ 'T H U S situated, it is not to be wonder-
“ ed I have met with some Difficulties in
“ the Course of my Direction, but I hope
“ the Uneasiness I have gone through,
“ and which I flatter myself I have not
“ deserved, will not fall to his Lot that
“ shall succeed me.

“ I RETURN my hearty Thanks to
“ those Gentlemen, who have been so
“ kind, as to afford me from time to
“ time, their Assistance and Support,
“ under the many Difficulties and Per-
“ plexities I have been obliged to en-
“ counter with, during the Time I have
“ had any Share in the Management of
“ this Company's Affairs.

“ *South Sea House.*

December 12, 1732.

FROM

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 181

FROM this very Day the *Affiento Trade* may date its Death; but I hope in a *Resurrection*.

MY original Sins stared me again in the Face, when I returned from *Africa* to *London*; but I then published my Misfortunes to the World, so that they did not molest me much, except one *John Blackwood*: But now, being come from the *South-Seas*, I must be very rich in the Eyes of the World, and a Man of no Principle, if I did not pay my Debts; so they attacked me at once; they pushed, and I parried; but, had it not been for two able Masters of the Art of Defence, (*Lawyers*) they had certainly got the better of me, and sunk me on the Spot, and not bettered themselves one Farthing by it. I always have kept a Register of Debtor and Creditor with the World, and a Court of Chancery, or Equity in my own Breast, which shall be balanced in my *Last Will and Testament*, and 'till then I beg the World to suspend their Judgment, at least not to put it in Execution:

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for I never had but one standing Maxim in Religion and Morality, which comprehends all;

To do as I would be done by.

This I have always made, to the utmost of my Power, and shall continue it till the Day of my Death, my fixed and immutable Rule.

ABOUT this Time our Prime Minister, Sir *Robert Walpole*, patched up a Peace with the *Spaniards*, and we felt the Effects of it immediately abroad; the Consequences of that grand Blunder, the Omission of *Hofier's* Squadron at *Porto-bello*; for, upon the Re-establishment of the *Assiento* in the Year 1729, I returned to my Station at *Cartagena*; and, of all the old Set of Factors, there was only one returned thither, Don *Ferdinando Punto*, who was now first Factor; he was bred from a Boy amongst the *Spaniards* at *Cartagena*, and had little or no Education, for he had lived eighteen Years amongst them, without being out of the Country; but

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but to be sure, of all that Set, he was the most capable for that Employ.

WE had a *Cedula* from the Court of *Madrid*, by the King's Order, for the Restitution of all the Company's Effects that were *reprisalied*, particularly the 100,000 Pieces of Eight that Don *Lewis a Ponti*, late Governor of *Cartagena*, had tricked the Factors of, and deposited in the King's Chest.

AT our Arrival we found a new Governor, Don *Antonio Salas*, a stubborn, resolute, old Soldier, with little or no Education, and what little Understanding he had was purely natural, from whom we met with a very unmannerly and rude Reception, insomuch that the very Inhabitants of the Place, our old Friends and Acquaintance, durst not even speak to us in the Streets, or invite us to their Houses; but were obliged to come skulking to us in the Night-time, with Protestations of their Friendship, though they were positively forbid by the Governor to shew us any manner of Countenance;

Quantum mutatus ab illo!

NOTWITHSTANDING these Difficulties to work our first Factor went with the Governor, shewing him his *Catholick Majesty's Cedula*, for the Restitution of all the Company's Effects, seized in the *Reprisalia*, with a particular Order for those Pieces of Eight; but the Governor put him off from time to time with evasive and chicaning Answers: Then they went to *Autos*, (Law-suits) Declarations, Manifesto's, Memorials, Remonstrances, &c. setting forth the Injuries and Injustice done to the Company, contrary to Treaty and Orders of the King of *Spain*, but all to no purpose: At last the Dispute got to open Passion; and I have seen the Governor tremble at the Sight of our Factor, (not for Fear, but with mere Passion of Anger) for an Hour running, like a Aspin-leaf: Then his Anger would exert itself in Insults and opprobrious Language: In short, it was a mere *Hell upon Earth*; none of them would yield, but the Governor was by far the strongest, unless

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unless he had been attacked at other Weapons. I have heard his Predecessor say, *Aquí está la Cedula, pero es menester sangrarlo.* It is certain 10,000 Pieces, rightly applied abroad, will do more Service for the Company's Interest than 100,000 Pieces laid out at the Court of *Madrid*.

ONE Day conversing intimately with Don *Sebastian Iglesias*, one of our Royal Officers on this Subject, "There's *Edward*," *dito*, said he, (meaning our first Factor) "making a Noise and a Bustle, and throwing the Governor into such Passions, that it is impossible to do any thing with him, about his *Papeles*, (Law-papers) with which he may wipe his Breech, being more proper for an *Attorney* than a *first Factor*: He don't come to the Purpose; but I will shew you:" And then went to his Scrutoir, and fetched a Letter from Don *Joseph Patiño*, then Prime Minister of *Spain*, (a great and able Minister) thanking the Governor and Royal Officers, for having remitted, and applied to his *Catholick Majesty's*

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Majesty's Service, those 100,000 Pieces of Eight; and greatly approving their Conduct, for having so opportunely supplied the Exigencies of the Government, at such a critical Juncture of Time, which bore the very same Date with his *Catholic* Majesty's aforesaid *Cedula*.

THIS, I do declare upon Honour, for I read it with my own Eyes; Does it not therefore require Men of Address, and thorough Knowledge of Men and Things, to deal with such treacherous, and perfidious *Courtiers*, the Bottom of all these kind of Villanies? In short, by long Experience, I have learnt, that there's but one never-failing *Argumentum ad Hominem* with them; but it requires a Man of great Judgment and Penetration to apply it rightly, so as many and great Advantages may accrue from it.

IN the beginning of the Year 1733, Sir *John Eyles* resigned his Government of this Company, when there was a new Set of Directors chosen: I would not presume

to

to say any Thing by way of Detraction on my *honourable Masters*, that *Justice* and *Truth* could conceal; but, if their *Fellows* in all *London* for Ignorance and Malice, (I mean *Ignorance* in the Company's Affairs abroad, and *Malice* to their Servants) could have been found, I'll submit; and the Beauty of it was, they pickt out one to fill Sir *John's* Chair, who was justly entitled to preside for those two Qualities: so to work they went; they turned out all the *Company's Servants* abroad, right or wrong, guilty or not guilty, under Pretence of their having promoted *private Trade*, without so much as ever accusing them, or giving them the least Opportunity of exculpating themselves, on purpose that they might place others of their own making in their room: And then to work they went again with the *old ones*, by Prosecutions at Law; and, after spending above 10,000*l.* of the Company's Money in Law, they never have, nor never will, as I think, recover *ten Pence*: For my Lord Chancellor decreed, " That whatever Damages the *Plaintiff* "
" (the

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“ (the *Company*) could prove had accrued
 “ to them, by carrying on, or promoting
 “ any *private Trade*, should be made
 “ good by the *Defendants*, their Servants,
 “ who, they said, promoted and carried
 “ on that private Trade.” A most *just*
 “ *Decree!*” but I have not as yet heard of
 any Damages proved by the Company,
 nor indeed can I find them out, nor even
 conceive how it is possible there can be
 any, unless they sold *Negroes*, or other
 Goods belonging to the Company, on
 their own Account. If so, they were *Thieves*
 and *Robbers* of the first Magnitude, and
 ought to be punished accordingly without
 Mercy: Of which there's only one In-
 stance standing upon Record, of one *Ble-*
chynden, who introduced *Negroes*, marked
 with the Company's Mark, and sold them
 on his own Account; yet this very Person
 never was prosecuted for his Crime, and was
 the only one, of all the Company's old
 Servants, that received any Countenance
 and Favour from this new Direction, and
 only because he was Sir *John Eyles's* Ene-
 my; (though only he, and such like,
 were

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 189

were his Enemies) for, on the new Election, the *Hue and Cry* was, Who is Sir *John Eyles's* Enemies? Then,

Dignus est intrare in nostro docto corpore.

THIS Scheme was contrived, fomented, and carried on, (under the Rose) by a cunning artful *Spanish* Agent, who then sat in the Court of Directors, and, under the Cloak of preventing private Trade, made them *Informers* against themselves, whilst he was striking at the very Foundation and utter Ruin of the *Company's Trade*; as appears by a Correspondence discovered at *Jamaica* between the following Gentlemen, Sir *Thomas Geraldino*, Agent for the King of *Spain* in *London*; Sir *Richard Hopkins*, Sub-governor for the *South-Sea Company*; and *John Merewether*, Esq; Agent for the *South-Sea Company* in *Jamaica*; which was supported by several Affidavits; and I myself have seen the original Letters; and, to corroborate this, I remember, I once happened to be in Company with Sir *Thomas Geraldino*, when the Conversation turned

OR

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on an Offer made, or to be made by the whole Commerce of *Spain* to the *West-Indies*, in the *Galleons* and *Flota*, to give the *Affiento Company* one half per Cent. on their whole Commerce to the *West-Indies*, in Lieu of their *annual Ship* : To which Sir *Thomas* answered, " That was a very " great *Premium* indeed, but he hoped " to have the Business done effectually " with a much lesser *Premium*." I fancy he meant to make them destroy themselves.

HOWEVER it may be, this is certain, that they never had an *annual Ship* since Sir *John Eyles* left the Direction : And I may justly say, whatever Disasters, Inconveniencies, and Distresses accrued to *Spain* from the ensuing War, begun in the Year 1739, were in great measure owing to this Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Geraldino*, who, by his Victory over a Set of such Directors, was puffed up to such a degree, as to encourage and spirit up the *Spanish* Governors in the *West-Indies*, to commit repeated Injuries and In-

sults

sults to our Country in general, and the *South-Sea* Company in particular, as appears by those fore-mentioned Letters. From hence we may infer what great Advantages accrue to *Britain*, and Disadvantages to the Commerce of *Spain*, from the *annual Ship*, when the latter offered such a large *Premium* to get rid of her.

I MUST indeed own, that it is very natural and reasonable for a *Spaniard*, in the Commerce of *Spain*, to complain of the Trade of the *annual Ship*, as it affects and prejudices their Trade; for there's never any Thing bought of the *Spaniards* till the *annual Ship's Cargo* is sold off: But, methinks, it is most preposterous and absurd, to hear a *Briton* complaining of his Country-man, for exchanging *British* Manufactures for *Spanish* Cash, with three times the Advantage to his Country that can be done in any other Shape whatsoever.

SOME little time after our learned Sub-governor (for he was a *Doctor of the Civil*
Law,

Law, without understanding one Syllable of it; nay, not one Word of the original Language in which it was wrote) died; happy for the Company, or else the *Assiento Trade* could not have lived; and he was succeeded by *Peter Burrell, Esq*; a Gentleman of clear Understanding and sound Judgment; who had Penetration enough to discover the Rocks on which his Predecessors split, and took all possible Care to escape them: But the Disease was gone too far to admit of external Applications for proper Remedies; nothing but Extirpation and beginning a-new could irradicate the Distemper: The Wounds we had received from the *Spaniards* were very deep, even to the very Bone: Our Prime Minister, *Sir Robert Walpole* wanted indeed to cicatrize them, (by a *Convention* made at the *Pardo*, on the 14th of *January*, 1739, N. S. when he certainly knew they were very deep, and all fester'd within: For he was not an *ignorant Physician*, but sometimes it suits a Physician better to consult his *own Interest* more than his *Patient's Good*. However, those old
Sores

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 193

Sores soon cut through the Cicatrice, and appeared naked with a double Glare, and, had not strong Remedies been immediately apply'd, they had most infallibly caused a Mortification; which was timely prevented, at the very critical Juncture, by that *just* and *unavoidable War* begun in the Year 1739.

I DID clearly foresee the Consequences, and prophecy the bad Effects of our *new Direction* in the Year 1733, even at such a great Distance, as appears by the following Letter.*

AT the same Time I wrote to my Friends in *London*, to give me timely Notice of my being thrown out of the Company's Service, as I expected, that I might draw off my Effects, which was all I wanted. Accordingly Mr. *James Douglas*, my Correspondent, wrote me Word, that he had been with the new Directors; that the *Factory* was changed, but I was included in the new one, with
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* Appendix Numb. III.

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* Appendix Numb. III;

the new Factors, under the same Tariff as formerly.

I HAD then concerted a Trade to the Inland Country, *Popayan* and *Choco*; so I went boldly on with it, expecting to reap the Fruits thereof in a Year or two: But our new Factors very soon arrived with a *Surgeon* of their own chusing in an underhand Way, a few Days before they set out from *London*, with a Letter from the *Court of Directors* to the Governor of *Cartagena*, not to allow any of their old Servants to stay there, contrary to their Orders.

THE Governor sent for me directly, and shewed me the Letter, (a most scandalous Letter!) and asked me, If I was inclin'd to stay? for if I was, they, the Inhabitants of *Cartagena*, would allow me the same Sallary the Company gave me: And as for the Letter, said he, *I'll wipe my Breech with it.* I thanked his Lordship for his Offer, and took ten Days to consider on it.

I HAD

I HAD then 16,000 Pieces of Eight, employed in Trade, out in the inland Country, which was more than I had got in the Company's Service: I considered with myself, if I stay, I must shake off my Country's Protection, and put on the *Spanish* Yoke, which is not a valuable Consideration; so I thanked his Lordship for his kind Offer, and appointed the Bishop of *Cartagena*, Don *Gregorio de Molleda*, and Don *Julian de tres Palacios* my Attorneys, and came off with our disbanded Factory.

THERE'S no Nation in the World, that I know of, more careful and observant of their *Punto*, (*Honour*) than the *Spaniards*, and most of their Business is transacted on this *Punto*, without the Scratch of a Pen; and even the Villains amongst them, when trusted, *devaxo Confiança*, sometimes prove honest.

AT the *Reprisalia*, or Rupture with *Britain*, the Governor published a Proclamation by Order of the King, "That

modi

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" whatever

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“ whatever Money, Accompts, or Effects,
 “ were in the Hands of any *Spaniard*, be-
 “ longing to the *British*, were immediately
 “ to be revealed and given up, under the
 “ Penalty of Confiscation of his whole
 “ Estate, and to be sent Home Prisoner to
 “ *Old Spain*.” But no Threat or Punish-
 ment can extort a Confession or cause
 them to commit a Breach of Trust;
 there's not one Instance of it in all the
 three *Reprisalias*; but I attribute this
 more to their *Pride* than *Honesty*, for,
 of all Crimes amongst them, *Breach*
of Trust is the most ignominious; yet,
 whatever may be the Cause, the Ef-
 fects are good; and, whilst I lived a-
 mongst them, I found them very careful
 and observant of their *Punto*, but I wish I
 could say so much for them in my Absence.
 In fourteen Year's Absence, notwithstand-
 ing my repeated Importunities by Letters
 during a long War, I never was able to
 obtain more than 600 out of those 16,000
 Dollars, owing to me with all the Profit
 on them, which at least must amount to
 double the Sum: And, till I get amongst
 them

them again, which perhaps may never be, I shall not be able to recover any more, which convinces me that this *Punto* consists only in the Fear of the Ignominy that might attend the betraying a *Confianza* ; but upon my Appearance I believe every Piece of Eight would be re-delivered.

SOMETIMES this *Punto* of theirs, under a false Notion, is carried into mere *Quixotism*. I have known a *Spaniard* in the *West-Indies* starve, by living idly, like a Gentleman as they term it, rather than cultivate his own Lands by Labour, (which would have produced a very handsome Subsistence for himself and Family, because this would be bringing Dishonour and Disgrace on his ancient Family.

IN antient Times this Custom prevailed so much in *Scotland*, that a Gentleman of a good Family did not care to put his Son to any mechanic Employ, whereby he might support himself handsomely ; but in my Remembrance, since

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the *Union with England*, it is almost worn out, and, I hope in the Age to come, will be quite abandoned, as a ridiculous, idle Notion, and greatly prejudicial to the Nation in general, and to every Individual in particular.

BUT that this *Punto* does not always proceed entirely from *Honesty*, I have had a strong Instance of within my own Knowledge.

THE *Jesuits*, as well ecclesiastical as secular, are a Set of the most political People, and the greatest Traders in the whole *Spanish West-Indies*: They have the Reputation of honest Dealers, so far as is consistent with their own Policy, and the Interest of their Community, as I have sufficiently experienced in the Course of my Dealings with them. When I lived at *Cartagena*, I always made use of the *College of Jesuits* to depofite what *contraband Goods* I introduced, that did not fall under the Cognizance of the Royal Officers, and they always gave me an exact Account

Account of all those Goods deposited upon *Punto*, without any Receipt given on either side, nor could I possibly call them to account for any Thing missing; yet in a Course of Years I never lost to the Value of a *Real*: But then they always bought those very Goods from me in their own Custody, and had large Profits by them; yet, as I likewise found my Advantage in it, from the Security, though my Profits were less, we agreed very well, till they played me a keen *Trick* just as I left *Cartagena*, when we were ordered home by the honourable Court of *Directors*, our Masters.

I HAD bought of the reverend Father Don *Jayme Lopez*, who was the Rector of the *Jesuits* at *Cartagena*, fifty-four Serons of *Cacao*, at a Piece of Eight per *Milliard*, which is 4 *lb.* I paid him the Money immediately, and marked them with my own Marks and Numbers, from No. 1, to 54: But as the College is very near the *Custom-house*, where we embark all Goods for Exportation, and our *Factory-*

house was at a considerable Distance, I desired the Favour of the *Padre Reētor*, to give me Warehouse-room for those Goods, till the Arrival of the *Affiento Vessel* from *Jamaica*; and accordingly he granted the Favour, with a good Grace and Complaisance.

It was two Months and upwards before the Arrival of the Vessel, and in this Interval of Time the Price of *Cacao* rose, from one to two Pieces of Eight *per Milliard*. The Reverend Father embraced this Opportunity, and sold off my *Cacao*, at two Pieces of Eight *per Milliard*, without asking my Leave, or giving me the least Notice of it. When the Vessel arrived, I took out my Licence from the Governor and Royal Officers to embark my *Cacao*; but, when I came to the College to receive it, I was told, there was none there, for the *Padre Reētor* had sold all the *Cacao*, which was delivered to the Buyers some Weeks ago.

I CAN-

I CANNOT express the Passion it threw me into, and in this violent Passion I went to the *Padre Rector*, and ask'd him, "*Father, have you sold my Cacao?*" He answered me as cool as a Cucumber, *I have sold all the Cacao:—What!* said I, *my Cacao?* He replied, *All the Cacao.*—*Well!* said I again, *Reverend Father, if I had you in my Country, and you was the best Clergyman in Great Britain, even the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, and played me such a villainous Trick, I would have you pillory'd, and your Ears cropt.* He answered, with the same Gravity and Coolness, *Si yo no estoy alla; but I am not there.*

I WENT on, in the Violence of my Passion, with more warm Expressions; and then he raised his Voice a little, and said, *V. M. quiere levantar la Mano contra la Iglesia?* *Do you want to lift up your Hand against the Church?* In short, I left him, and went to the Governor's, who was then at great Variance with the *Jesuits*, and told him the whole Story; who
paused

paused a little, and said, "Well! I have
 told you of your Merchants frequently,
 (meaning the *Jesuits*) now you see what
 they are! I wish to God, I could come
 over them; but they are subjected to
 no Laws but of their own making, and
 acknowledge no Power nor Jurisdiction
 but from the *Pope*; so I can give you
 no Redress in this Case; for they don't
 come under the Civil Power."

In a few Days after, when I was quite
 cool, I paid a Visit to the *Jesuits* again,
 to reason the Case, and asked them, If
 they would not give me the Price that
 my Cacao sold at? They unanimously
 answered, (for there were then three or
 four of them together) That they would
 return the Money that I paid for it, or
 give me an equal Quantity of Cacao, when
 it came from the Inland Country; but the
 College must not suffer: So I took my
 Money, and put up with the Loss, for
 fear of being worse off. The Difference
 amounted to about 5000 Pieces of Eight,
 which was a sufficient Premium for them

to strike at, when they knew I was going off, and could make no more of me.

It is impossible to conceive, or to entertain a just and adequate Notion of the Happiness a free-born Subject of Great Britain, on account of the Liberty and Property he enjoys, without being sufficiently experienced in the Misery of those, who are subjected by Birth to the Tyranny of an *absolute* civil Power, and the Slavery of an *Ecclesiastic* Yoke. That Society, who calls themselves, *The Society of Jesus*, are the most political Set of People in the whole World: They carry *plenipotentiary* Powers from the *Pope*, exclusive of all *secular* Authority, which are as despotically exercised, as politically used, for the Benefit of the *Hierarchy*; and they may properly be called the *Church-militant*; for, if *his Holiness* was to tax every Parish 100 Crowns, and every Convent 50, which is a mere Trifle, payable on Demand, throughout all his *Ecclesiastical* Jurisdictions, and decimate his *Clergy*, he would be more powerful in Men and Money,

ney, than all the Princes in *Christendom* put together : And the *Jesuits* themselves, when they attack, do more Execution, and make greater Devastation, than any Army of *Soldiers*.

THERE was a Set of People in *Great Britain*, called *Quakers*, of some Affinity, in Inclinations and Resemblance in Conduct, to the *Jesuits*, sly, cunning, and hypocritical ; but greatly inferior to them in Education, and entirely divested of all Power and Authority, and all Manner of Employment, as well in Ecclesiastical as in Civil Affairs.

I LEFT *Cartagena* in the beginning of the Year 1734, stopt two or three Weeks at *Jamaica*, and then made the best of my Way for *London*, where I met with the same polite Reception and Behaviour from Sir *John Eyles* as formerly.

BEING of Opinion that the new Set of *Directors* had no other Reason for their violent Transactions, than to get into the Saddle

Saddle themselves, and provide for their own Creatures, so that they might answer their own private Views and Designs; therefore I took the Liberty to give into them a *Memorial*.*

THIS *Memorial* was given in to the Court of *Directors*, Sept. 24, 1734. I was then under Covenants with the Honourable Company for five Years, of which there were only three expired, and had a Counter-part of those Covenants, which I shewed to my Lawyer; “Why,” said he, you have got the wrong End of the Staff, you should always go to Law against *Companies* with their own Money; instead of which they have got your Money to go to Law with. “Your Demands are just in Reason, Law, and Equity, but their Purse is a good deal heavier and longer than yours;” which, I think, were very prudent and cordial Hints.”

I WAITED several Years soliciting, without being able to procure my Salary
due

* *Appendix*, Numb. IV.

due to me at Home, or recover one Dollar of my Effects due to me Abroad; nor would they so much as give me leave to look after my Effects abroad in the *Spanish West-Indies*, and took effectual Care to intercept and interrupt all my Correspondence there: So I felt, to my fatal Experience, how the *Game* was a going; when the Mask was taken off, the Disguise appeared plainly; for they always hunted in a Pack, and the whole Pack was led by *Ring-leader*, a staunch Hound! It is true, *Fowler* was the first, a deep-mouth'd Hound! but it was observable he always hunted with an erect Head and open Mouth, and made a terrible loud, deep Noise; but had a very bad Nose, so that he seldom or never found the Scent himself: Whereas *Ring-leader* had a very good Nose, and followed the Scent close. But *Courser* was the fleetest Hound of the whole Pack, and could have out-run *Ring-leader* with great Ease, but he never would pass him, only kept close by him, and sometimes, when *Ring-leader* miss'd the Scent, and was at Default, *Courser* put him

him into the Seent again; and the whole Pack had so good an Opinion of Ring-leader's Nose, that, whenever he opened, they would all, without ever laying their Noses to the Ground, open and follow.

AND accordingly they sent out one of their Beagles, a young Whelp just let in, only fit as yet to play with his own Tail; for he was not so much as entered, nor never had been at a Chace, at least, I dare venture to assert, he had never been in at a Death; but he was of Ring-leader's Breed, so must be provided for, at whatever Disgrace, Expence and Loss to the Country in general, and the Company in particular.

BUT this, being too gross an Imposition on the World, fell under the Cognizance of a general Court of the Proprietors of South-Sea Stock, when Master was not only suspended from his Presidentship, but rendered incapable of serving the Company in any shape whatsoever; which

Censure

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Censure the *old Hound* deserved more richly than the *young Puppy*.

Thus was the Nation to be exposed, and the Company's Interest to be sacrificed to the private Views and Designs of our *new Reformers*! Thus was the Company's Interest and Credit intirely sunk abroad amongst the discerning *Spaniards*, and *Britons* became despicable from the many different Samples that they had seen amongst them.

THIS was the very Rock on which the *Royal African Company* was wrecked, *oppressing* and *not paying* their Servants; for which Reason they cou'd find no-body of Capacity and Credit to serve them; and, I hope, their *Honours* will do me the Justice to acknowledge, that I prognosticated their Fate, some Years before it came to pass, and told them of it in plain Terms, as appears by my *Observations* before-mentioned.

BUT, lucky for the Company! in this Interim their *Sub-governor*, Sir *Richard Hopkins*,

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 269

Hopkins died, and was succeeded by *Peter Burrell*, Esq; a Gentleman of undoubted Honour and Integrity; but, as I observed before, the Disease was desperate, and the Remedy to be applied too late.

ME THOUGHT I saw a Parcel of *Moles* working hard under ground, throwing up Dirt to bespatter others, whilst the very Dirt, gathered together in a Heap, by its own specifick Weight, the Mound being undermined, tumbled down upon themselves, and smothered them.

I HAD a very large Field here to observe; though some hundreds, to my certain Knowledge, had lain under particular Obligations to *Sir John Eyles*, not one of a hundred appeared with common Gratitude, and even some of them, who had acquired handsome Estates by his Favour and Protection, most scandalously turned the very Weapons against him.

SOME time after my Arrival at *Jamaica*, I heard of my fast Friend, *Sir John Eyles's* Death, which gave me much
P Concern

Concern, as it was a great Loss to our Country in general, especially the distressed Part of them; for his Humanity and Generosity were so extensive, that, if two or more Persons of equal fair Character and Merit, applied to him for his Countenance, he was always sure to assist the most distressed; but the Loss was more particularly great to me, as it deprived me of an Opportunity of acknowledging my Gratitude personally, to distinguish myself from the common ungrateful Herd of Mankind, who lay under much more Obligation to him: Yet I dare to say, that this very Gentleman had more Satisfaction in his own Mind, notwithstanding all the Ingratitude he met with, for the good Offices he had done, than the avaricious Miser possibly can have in heaping up all his Mountains of Treasure.

THE only certain distinguishing Mark of Mankind, by all that I have learnt in this World, is, "He who does the most good Offices and fewest bad, whilst he has it in his Power, is the best Man, & *"vice versa;"* the first is an *angelical* Virtue,

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 211
Virtue, the reverse a *diabolical Vice*, and
I am fully convinced from this, and in-
numerable other Observations of the same
kind, that *Self-love* is the original Source
and Spring of all Actions in human Life;
Good as well as Bad.

THIS was the third Time I made my
Appearance on the grand Stage of Life;
“Now, said the World, he must be *rich*
“but a *great Villain*, for he does not pay
“his Debts so many Years owing.”—
“True, said I, I don’t pay all my Debts;
“for a very good Reason, I have not
“Money enough: They come to a great
“deal more Money than you know of;
“or can imagine; and tho’ I have at least
“double that Sum owing to me, I can-
“not get at it; so *Paciência por fuerça*.”
Well! up comes a little scoundrel Fel-
low, “Why don’t you pay me?” says he;
“you cannot be an honest Man; but—
“I’ll make you one.”

THERE’S no Torment on Earth can
equal this to a generous Soul! a mere
Hell

Hell upon Earth! I can only declare upon Honour, that I never desired Life upon any other Account, than to do Justice to all the World, and to shew my Gratitude to my Benefactors: At the same Time I do acknowledge, that I have lost one Estate by my own *Vanity* and *Folly*; I have *spent* another tolerable one by my own Mismanagements and bad Conduct; and I have lost a third very considerable one by my real Misfortunes in Trade; and I still hope to have a better Estate at my Death, than any of the three to be applied to the aforesaid Uses: For, whenever I had an Opportunity of creeping into Business, I launched out very considerably, and, though in so doing I have sustained great Losses, I can still safely say, *That I have a great deal more Money owing to me than I owe*, (either on the Score of *Credit* or *Gratitude*) the common *Salvo* for Incapacity to discharge pecuniary Obligations.

WHAT is attributed to *Accident* or *Chance*, generally speaking, is entirely owing

ing to Judgment, as appears in the Game of *Back gammon*, what we commonly call *Chance* depends mostly on Judgment; for he, that has the superior Judgment in a Course of Play, will certainly get the better at last, let *Luck*, take which Side she pleases. Let two *Gamesters* sit down to play, with *ten Guineas* each in his Pocket, and agree to play *one Guinea* a Game, till one of them loses his ten *Guineas*, the one, I suppose, to have a much *superior* Judgment in the Play than the other. *Luck* or *Chance*, which ever you are pleased to call it, may give the first ten *Guineas* to the Player of *inferior* Judgment in the Play, till the other is stripped; yet, in the Course of Play, the *Advantage* must have infallibly fallen to the Player of *superior* Judgment, if he had had Money enough to have continued the Play any considerable Time.

An emblematical Representation of this World!

UNDER these Perplexities, and Anxieties of Mind, as well in publick as in

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private Affairs, (for our *Prime Minister* by this Time had made up his *Harlequin's Coat*, a very compleat Piece of *Patchwork*, the *Convention* made at the *Pardo*, the 14 of Jan. 1739, N. S.) I went into the Country to Sir *John Eyles* (who some Years before he died) retired from all manner of Business, and opened myself freely to him, and told him, that there was an absolute Necessity for my returning to the *West-Indies*, under the Protection of the *Assiento Service*, if possible, to save my Effects from perishing, and consequently myself from Ruin; and asked him, "If he was well-acquainted and in Friendship with our new Sub-governor, Mr. *Burrell*?" He answered, "Yes; *Burrell* is a Man of Honour, but he will find Difficulty enough to do any Thing for you amongst those People; they are a malicious Set, and will admit no-body in the *Company's Service* but their own *Creatures*, if they can possibly help it; However, I will speak to Mr. *Burrell* about you."

ACCORDINGLY, some Days after I met

met Mr. *Burrell* accidentally in the Court of Requests, who knew me by sight, and told me, that Sir *John* had spoke to him about me, and desired me to wait on him at his House; which I did, when I opened myself to him with the same Freedom, I used to do to Sir *John Eyles*: But, he being just then chosen Sub-governor in the room of Sir *Richard Hopkins*, the Direction was entirely new to him: yet he was sensible of the Difficulties of re-instating me in the Service with the People who had turned me out. But, to come to the Purpose, he asked me, "If I had any one of the *Directors* to sign my Petition? and who?" I answered, "Yes; *Courser* would sign my Petition." He was greatly surprized at that; for this Gentleman was a leading Man, of the factious Party in the Direction, and always went hand-in-hand with *Ring-leader*, who had set up one in Opposition to me, for the Vacancy I then pushed for. So he asked me again, "If I was sure of him?" I answered, "I was very sure, he durst not refuse his Hand to the Gen-

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"Gentleman who promised me to ask it;
"but God only knew his Heart." Accordingly, this very Gentleman signed my Petition to the *Court of Directors*, at the same time, I'll venture to say, he balloted against me.

HOWEVER that might be, though I lost this Point, I gained another, in being re-instated in the Honourable Company's Service, as *Surgeon* to their Factory at *la Vera Cruz*, and entered into such Bonds with Sureties as the *Honourable Court of Directors*, my Masters, required; and was ordered by them, the 4th of *August*, 1738; to proceed to the said Factory, by the Way of *Jamaica*, as appears by their Instructions to me of the same Date. I set out on my Voyage for *la Vera Cruz* in *America*, in the beginning of the Year 1739, by Way of *Jamaica*. I was scarce arrived at *Jamaica*, when we had the News of Reprizals with *Spain*, and soon after of a Declaration of War against that Crown. I own that I had so indifferent a Notion of the Convention from the beginning,

ning, that I thought it could not be durable; yet I never doubted but the *Patch-work* might have stuck together for two or three Years, till I could dispose of, and gather in my Effects, which was all I wanted from it for my own private Use; but an *immediate Rupture* disconcerted all my Measures, and plunged me into greater Misfortunes than ever; and has been the Cause of a whole Series of Troubles during this long War.

I WAITED at *Jamaica* eight Years in Expectation from Year to Year of my honourable Master's Commands; in full Hopes of a Peace, I hope an honourable Peace; or none, for I am sure *Great Britain* had Strength enough in the *West-Indies* to force them into any Peace, or blow them into the Air; and, as for my own private Interest, I would suffer the greatest Misery, rather than have Peace upon any other than honourable, just Terms; till then I hope my Honourable Masters will put me upon the compassionate List, as one of their oldest, and, I
may

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may say, most faithful, *Without-flattery-
servants.*

FOR, to accomplish my Designs, I had concerted and agreed with one Capt. *Fennell*, (who was then under the Protection of our Deputy-governor, *John Bristow, Esq;*) to buy a Vessel in Copartnership, to be employed in the Company's Service; and betwixt us we had Interest enough to procure her the *la Vera Cruz* Station, where I was to reside, and the Captain was to command the Vessel on that Station to and from *Jamaica*. Accordingly, we purchased the Vessel, fitted her completely out for Sea, and she was immediately taken into the Company's Service: We also borrowed from my Friends, to carry on our Plan, about 3000*l.* but the unexpected and sudden breaking out of the War disappointed all our Views; so that the Vessel made one Voyage only in the Company's Service, tho' a very profitable one; yet, thro' the *Infidelity* of the Captain, and the *Dishonesty* in his Accounts, the 3000*l.* were almost sunk in twelve Months
Time,

Time, and the dead Weight fell upon me; for the Captain not only left his *Trust*, but his Country too, (I should rather say *Great Britain*, for he was an *Irishman*, which to my Sorrow I knew when too late) which sunk my Credit, both at Home and Abroad intirely, and almost ruined me beyond Redemption.

THE *Fraud* must certainly have been designed by him from the very first setting out; for, by Agreement in *London*, we consigned all our Goods and Effects in Joint-stock, value about 3000*l.* to Capt. *Turner* in *Jamaica*, and the Bills of Loading were signed accordingly; but he (*Fennell*) got to *Jamaica* before me, and I do believe designed to take up these Bills of Loading, and put all our Effects into the Hands of one *John Curtin*, a Countryman of his own, with whom he had combined; and I never could recover them out of his Hands, till at last the Remedy proved worse than the Disease.

I HAVE

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I HAVE had greater Losses than this, in the Course of my Business, but never any that bore so hard upon me; for now I was not only *dunned*, but *upbraided* by my *Friends*, for I bore the Blame of all. I own it was intirely on my Account that the Money was lent; therefore I lost both my Money and my Friends; and what small Portion I recovered of the 3000 *l*. I was obliged to get by a tedious and expensive *Chancery-suit* in *Jamaica*, which Remedy in the Consequence proved as bad as, if not worse than, the Disease, all eat up in Costs and Law Charges, for I was three Years before I got a Decree, and three Years more without being able to get the Chancellor's final Decree put into Execution, which I imputed chiefly to the Marshal and his Bailiffs playing Booty; for his Soul was in no-wise superior to his Bum-bailiff's; a fine Country indeed! where a Chancellor's Decree cannot be enforced and executed in three Years Time, by Execution! *Vend. Exp.* and *alias Writs* unheard of in Chancery.

I M E T

I MET with one Mr. Beawes at *Jamaica*, who was a Creature of the factious Party in the Direction, and lately stationed for *la Vera Cruz*: They had set him up in Opposition to my Interest, and, as they still had a Majority of Votes in the Court of Directors, they got him placed over me.

He had a very large Cargo from his Friends at *London*, (or rather, under the *Rose*, at *Jamaica*) designed for *la Vera Cruz*; but he was ordered to keep it very secret from me. We very soon differed; for it was an impossible Thing for us to set our Horses together, as our Interests were diametrically opposite; he behaved in a very scoundrel Manner to me, and I treated him as such; and accordingly had him publickly chastized, with all his Accomplices, which he richly deserved. Notwithstanding, he proceeded on his Voyage to *la Vera Cruz*, where he and his Cargo were seized, whilst I remained at *Jamaica*. In this Voyage they sunk about

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about 10,000 *l.* from *Jamaica*; and double that Sum from *London*.

UNDER this Situation of Affairs, being involved in a great many thousand Pounds at Home, my Effects thus embezzled at *Jamaica*, the *Assiento Trade* stopped, so that I could not recover a Farthing of my Effects from the *Spaniards*, nothing but an uncommon Stock of Spirits, especially in the decline of Life, could have supported me from sinking under such a heavy Load of Disappointments; at the same time that I was obliged to support myself in the most expensive Country; perhaps, in the whole World, with the additional Burden of a *Chancery-suit* for the Recovery of my Effects; but I was resolved to struggle to the very last, with my utmost Efforts, for the retrieving my Honour and Credit, sunk in so vile a Manner by the Villany of others.

THEN I turned my Thoughts intirely to try if any thing could be done in *private Trade* upon the *Spanish Coast*, where
I was

I was perfectly well-acquainted: Accordingly, I was principally concerned in fitting out and assorting the Cargo of two Vessels, and part Owner in both; I went the Voyage myself, and the Method of Trading was thus:

THEY either set out five or six, more or less, small Vessels in Company, and under the Convoy of a *Man of War*, or singly by themselves, manned, as they called it, with *fifty* Hands on board, or upwards; but whilst they are under Convoy only with *twenty*. The Captain of the *Man of War* won't let them stir from one another; so some through Malice, others through Envy, the rest, to draw their Commission of 12 and a half *per Cent.* sell at all Events, every one endeavouring to under-sell and undermine one another, at any dirty, low Rate, or even by Tricking, and the cunning *Spaniard* all this while slips no Opportunity to improve that Strife to his own Advantage; so that the Price of every Thing were reduced to *one Third* of what they were when

I lived

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I lived amongst them in the *Affiento Company's* Service.

WE used to sell the Company's *Negroes* singly, Men and Women, from 280 to 300 Pieces of Eight, but in that private Trade 120 to 130 was the highest, and all other Goods in Proportion. I own the *Spaniards* were at a very great Expence, and run much Risk in buying Goods in that clandestine, contraband Way; for they had no less than twelve different Guards to pass from *Porto-bello* to *Panama*, and every one of them must be paid in passing; and perhaps, after they had passed and paid eleven, the twelfth seizes upon all, or makes them pay through the Nose for it. Our Expences and Costs in this private Trade were likewise very extravagant; for we paid *five per Cent.* on all sold for the Use of the Convoy, whilst the *Dutch* reaped the Benefit of our Convoy for nothing.

If we went without Convoy, manned fifty Sailors at 5*l.* a Month, and great
Diffi-

Difficulty to get them too at any Price, with the Hire of the Vessel at 80 l. a Month at least, it became a most exorbitant Charge, whilst the *Dutch* failed at a very small Charge, and consequently able, and always willing enough to under-sell us at least 25 per Cent, and the *French* also had the Liberty of their Ports during that War.

FROM the long Experience I have had in that Trade, in all its different Shapes, I dare venture to assert, that the same Quantity and Quality of Goods, employed in the *Assiento*, yielded triple the net Proceeds in Cash, to what they did employ'd in that forced private Trade; and that whilst the *Assiento* Trade was preserved in its full Force, with all its Immunities and Privileges, it produced three times more Cash to *Britain*, than all that private Trade put together during that War, or at any other Time when the *Assiento* was interrupted.

THIS is a great Truth within my own

Q

Know-

Knowledge ever since the Year 1724, which obliged me to knock off that *private Trade*, finding, that, instead of extricating me out of, was plunging me into deeper Embarrassments, there being very considerable Sums of Money lost by it, and an entire Stop put to our *British Manufactures*: For, as the Traders paid so much by the *Fardo* (a Burden of 75 lb. Weight) to the Guards; which was adjudged by the *Quantity*, not the *Quality*; so that the Costs on a *Fardo* of *Bays*, or *Long Ells*, was as much as on the same Quantity of Gold, Silver, or *Flanders Thread Lace*: Whilst the Trader could afford considerable Costs on the last, the first would in no wise answer them.

THERE was a *Jamaica Merchant* of some Credit and Reputation in *London*, who wrote a Pamphlet, entitled, *Considerations on the AMERICAN TRADE in the WEST-INDIES*, asserting, " That the
 " Trade to the *Spanish Coast* was carried
 " on, by the *private Traders* in *Jamaica*,
 " with more Advantage to the *British*
 " Com-

“ Commerce, than by the *Affiento Com-*
 “ *pany.*” I answered him with *Observa-*
tions on those Considerations, published at
 London, in the Year 1741-2, giving a full
 and exact Account of that Branch of Trade
 in all its different Channels, where in it
 plainly appears, when that Trade is car-
 ried on by the *Affiento Company* in its right
 Course, it returns three times more Mo-
 ney in ready Cash to the *British Com-*
merce, than in any other Shape whatso-
 ever : But that is submitted, with the Ar-
 guments *pro* and *con*, to the Judgment of
 the Reader. I shall here only assure him,
 that I was not in any wise prejudiced in
 Favour of the *Affiento Company* as one of
 their Servants, when I wrote those *Consi-*
derations : I pleaded impartially as a true
Briton, for what was most advantageous
 to the Nation in general; and London in
 particular has experienced the Truth of
 those Arguments. It is true, I have seen
 from Time to Time in the *London News-*
papers several *Puffs*, “ That there were
 “ such and such a Number of Vessels ar-
 “ rived at *Jamaica*, from the *Spanish Main*

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“ immensely rich, having sold their *European* Goods to great Advantage, &c. But the Prices, and Ballance of Accompts of the *London* Merchants with their Correspondents at *Jamaica*, will discover the *naked Truth*.

WHILST we were trading upon the Coast, Admiral *Vernon* was knocking down their Castles at *Porto-bello* and *Chagre*, which at first seemed to me very preposterous. However, I found Trade answer as well, if not better, at that Time than any other during the War; for the *Spaniards* are in some measure to be compared to the Breed of our *Spaniel Dogs*, the more you beat them, the more they fawn upon you; for there is no Nation in the World so proud and haughty in *Prosperity*, nor so mean and dejected in *Adversity*.

WHEN we returned from this Voyage, we found *Jamaica* under a terrible Consternation, and not without Reason, as appears by the following Letter.

“ To

“ To PETER BURRELL, *Esq*; Member
“ of Parliament, LONDON,

“ Sir,

“ S INCE my Last I have only to
“ acquaint you, that the Situation
“ of our publick Affairs here is most ter-
“ ribly altered.

“ THE *Ferrol* Squadron, consisting of
“ twelve Sail of Line of Battle Ships un-
“ der the Command of Don *Roderigo de*
“ *Torres*, is got safe into *Cartagena* Har-
“ bour, about two Months ago, and car-
“ ries proper Materials with them, for
“ careening the six Sail of Line of Battle
“ Ships, they had there before; so they
“ are now eighteen Line of Battle Ships
“ strong ready to put to Sea,

“ THE *Brest* and *Toulon* Squadrons are
“ met, and are now got safe into the
“ Harbour of Port *Louis, Hispaniola*, con-
“ fisting

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“ sitting (as I am credibly informed) of
“ above twenty Line of Battle Ships, be-
“ sides Transports, Tenders, &c. com-
“ manded by the *Marquis d'Antin* ;
“ whilst Admiral *Vernon* continues here
“ in Harbour with ten Line of Battle
“ Ships only, feeding himself with Ex-
“ pectations of a Reinforcement equal to
“ the Strength of our Enemies. The Re-
“ sult of all this God only knows !

“ *Quis talia fando temperet a Lachrymis !*

“ WE have a perfect Stagnation of all
“ Trade here, attended with an universal
“ Discontent ; the Northern Forces are
“ arrived to the Number of three Thou-
“ sand five Hundred, under the Command
“ of Colonel *Gooch*, and Lieutenant Co-
“ lonel *Cope* (Brigadier *Blackney* came a-
“ long with them, I don't know his
“ Command) which quiets the Minds
“ of the People a little ; the rest we must
“ refer to Time.

“ I AM willing to let you know, Sir, that

“ I am

“ I am alive, and continue with a firm

“ Attachment to be,

“ Sir,

“ your most devoted

“ and obedient, humble Servant,

“ JAMES HOUSTOUN.”

“ *Jamaica, Dec.*

14, 1740.

WE were greatly revived from our
Consternation at *Jamaica*, by an Express
from his Grace the Duke of *Newcastle*,
principal Secretary of State, &c.

“ To his Excellency EDWARD TRELAW-

“ NY, Esq; Governor of *Jamaica*, &c:

“ Sir,

“ I MUST beg leave to refer you to
“ my Letter to Vice-admiral *Vernon*,
“ which I have desired him to commu-
“ nicate to you, for a particular Account
“ of the present Situation of Affairs, of
“ the naval Force which *France* and *Spain*

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“ have sent to the *West-Indies*, and of the
“ Direction which the *Lord's Justices*
“ have thought proper to give for a very
“ considerable Fleet to go under the
“ Command of Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, with
“ Lord *Cathcart* to *Jamaica*, in order to
“ join Vice-admiral *Vernon* there.

“ You will also see the Account we
“ have received from the *Northern Colo-*
“ *nies* in *America*, of the great Success
“ with which the *Levies* are carrying on
“ there, the Number of Men that may
“ be expected from thence, the Place of
“ Rendezvous, and the Time of their
“ sailing; and I am desired by the *Lords*
“ *Justices*, to recommend it to you in a
“ particular Manner, to take the best
“ Care you can, for the quartering or en-
“ camping those Troops as soon as they
“ shall arrive in *Jamaica*, and for keep-
“ ing good Discipline amongst them, till
“ the Lord *Cathcart* shall arrive, and for
“ the preventing any Desertion, if that
“ should be apprehended.

“ Tho'

“ THO’ we hope there is little Reason to apprehend any Attempt upon *Jamaica*, yet, as no Dependance can be had upon the Declarations of *France*, nor any certain Judgment to be made as to the Conduct of *Spain*, I am persuaded you will take necessary Measures and Precautions against any Surprise.

“ I HAVE wrote to Mr. *Vernon*, to give you all possible Assistance, in case any Attempt should be made against you, and as the Troops from the Northern Colonies will probably soon arrive in *Jamaica*, they may be of great Use to you upon any such Occasion. I am persuaded that Colonel *Gooch*, who you will see, upon Major General *Spotswood*’s Death, has, pursuant to his Majesty’s Orders, taken upon him the Command of those Troops, will be ready to employ them for the Defence of the Island, if there should be Occasion, in the

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“ the best Manner he is able. I heartily
“ with you Success, and am,

“ Sir,

“ *Whitehall,* Your most obedient,
“ *Sep. 12, 1740.*

“ humble Servant

“ HOLLES NEWCASTLE.”

THO' his Grace of *Newcastle* was then
of Opinion, and hoped, that there was
little Reason to apprehend any Attempt
upon *Jamaica*, yet the absolute Certainty
of it came to be discovered afterwards, in
his Majesty's own Royal Words, in his
Declaration of War against the *French*
King, at *St. James's*, the 29th of *March*,
1744, amongst other just Complaints, in
Violation of all publick and private *Faith*,
open Breach of *Treaties*, violating the
Laws of Nature and Nations, “ by send-
“ ing in the Year 1740, a strong Squa-
“ dron into the *American* Seas, in order
“ to prevent us from prosecuting the just
“ War

“ War, which we were carrying on against
“ *Spain* in those Parts ; and we have the
“ most authentick Proof, that an Order
“ was given to the Commander of the
“ *French* Squadron, not only to act in a
“ hostile Manner, against our Ships, either
“ jointly with the *Spaniard*, or separately ;
“ but even to concert Measures with our
“ Enemies, for attacking one of our prin-
“ cipal Dominions in *America* ; a Du-
“ plicate of that Order, dated the 7th of
“ *October*, 1746, having fallen into the
“ Hands of the Commander in Chief
“ of our Squadron in the *West-Indies*.

“ THIS injurious Proceeding was
“ greatly aggravated by the *French* Mini-
“ ster at Court, having declared, on Oc-
“ casion of sending the said Squadron, that
“ the *French* King was very far from hav-
“ ing any Design, or Intention of break-
“ ing with us.”

CAPTAIN *Herbert*, of his Majesty's
Ship the *Norwich*, being out on a Cruize,
by the most extraordinary lucky Accident
ima-

imaginable, met at Sea with a *French* Man of War *Snow*, commanded by a *French Count* who was carrying the Original Order, for the *French* to join the *Spanish Fleet*, a Duplicate of which *His Majesty* mentions. When the *French Count* found himself surprized, he threw his Dispatches over-board, which prevented the Conjunction of the two Fleets, at that Time, with all its dismal Consequences: But at all Hazards Capt. *Herbert* brought the *French Count* to *Jamaica*; yet, as his Dispatches were destroyed, and no Papers appeared against him of any Consequence, and no War being then declared with *France*, Admiral *Vernon* released him. This happened about two Months before the Arrival of our grand Fleet, under the Command of Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, to join Admiral *Vernon*.

KINGS are commonly said to be the *Source* and *Fountain* of all *Honour*; but, methinks, a *King* without any *Honour* in himself, is the most despicable of all *Creatures*.

THERE'S

THERE'S no Nation in the World so perfidious as the *French*; so that now-a-days *Gallica Fides* is become a synonymous Expression with the ancient *Punica Fides*; and *England* has had Examples of this *Gallica Fides*, to their fatal Experience, from *William* of *Normandy* the Conqueror, and all his Successors, to King *John*, who granted the *Magna Charta*, and even He, and his Successors afterwards, made several perfidious Attempts to infringe and break it; till *major vis* obliged King *John* to hearken to Reason, which otherwise he never would have done, and restore and re-establish his Subjects in their ancient Rights and Privileges, plundered and robbed from them by his arbitrary and tyrannic *Norman* Predecessors; and indeed his own Inclinations were as bad and wicked as any, had his Capacity and Abilities been equal to them: Yet, I hope, they were then settled upon a sure and solid Foundation, the Basis of all our Liberty and Property, never to be shaken, but in the Ruin of those who attempt it: There-

making
above

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Therefore *Britons* beware of another *Conqueror* from that Country!

Burnt Children ought to dread the Fire!

By his Majesty's Royal Words from the Throne, it evidently appears, that the Marquis *D'Antin*, Commander in Chief of the whole *French* Fleet on that Expedition, had secret Orders to join the *Spanish* Fleet, under the Command of Don *Roderigo de Torres*, in order conjunctly to make a Descent on *Jamaica*, and, as I was credibly informed, one Day in a Council of War, they pressed the Marquis *D'Antin* very much to put those Orders in Execution; setting forth the Facility of taking *Jamaica* before the Arrival of the *British* Fleet: " *Oui, Oui, Messieurs,*" said the Marquis, it is easy enough for " us to get to *Jamaica*, but how shall we " get back again?" And sure enough the grand Fleet under the Command of Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, consisting of ten eighty Gun Ships, nine of seventy Guns, and nine of sixty, with six of fifty and under, besides Fire-ships, Bombs, &c. making
above

above 150 Sail in all, Transport Ships and Vessels included, with ten Battalions of Soldiers, besides 3500 Land Forces from the Northern Colonies, New England, New York, and Virginia, by far the greatest Navy and Army that ever was seen, or heard of, in the *West-Indies*.

THEY arrived at that very critical Time, so, had the combined Fleets proceeded on their Design as projected, they must certainly have met with this grand Fleet; and we had strong Reasons to expect a complete Victory; at least I wish'd from the bottom of my Soul, that they had put it to the Tryal.

THERE was indeed a Sort of *Rencontre* at Sea between three or four Ships, detached from this grand Fleet, and a like Number of *French* Ships: The Attack happened in the Night-time, as they said, by Mistake; however it might be, they continued firing at one another, and blundering on both Sides for most Part of the Night; but, as there was then no *Declaration*

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ration of War with *France*, in the Morning at Day-break, they left off by Consent of both Parties; the *British* Ships rejoined the grand Fleet to proceed on their Voyage to *Jamaica*, and the *French* Ships returned to their Fleet, then in the Harbour of *St. Louis, Hispaniola*. There were also two or three Ships of the Line-of-battle, belonging to the Fleet, separated by a Storm, which were safe, but never arrived at *Jamaica*.

BEFORE this grand Fleet could join Admiral *Vernon*, who waited at *Jamaica*, to take upon him the Command in Chief of the whole *British* Fleet in the *West-Indies*, in order to go with all Expedition to pay a Visit to the Marquis *D'Antin*, but his Lordship was gone (luckily for him) with his whole Fleet for *France*; and, tho' his Lordship made a very short Stay, not above two Months at *Hispaniola*, his Fleet was reduced to great Straits, for want of Provisions, Naval Stores, &c. which caused a very considerable Mortality

lity amongst them, before their Arrival in France.

THEN Admiral *Vernon*, missing the *Marquis*, proceeded on his designed Expedition to *Cartagena*; but, very unfortunately, my Lord *Cathcart*, who was Commander in Chief of all his *Britannick* Majesty's Land Forces on that Expedition, died in the Passage from *England*, universally regretted by his whole Army, and every good Man, that had the Honour of his Acquaintance, and much more unfortunately for the Service, as he was succeeded in his Command by Major General *Wentworth*, a Gentleman no ways equal to such a Command: As indeed, Admiral *Vernon* said to one of his Aids de Camps, on purpose that it might be told him again, *That he was more fit to be a Wapping Attorney, than a General, with his low Cunning, equivocating, and chicaning Tricks.*

I do acknowledge, that he was a Man of no great Understanding, and, as Admiral

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Admiral *Vernon* rightly observed, what Understanding he had exerted itself in low, mean Cunning, and Reserve; and tho' he was not unmannerly or rude in Conversation, yet, methought, he had the least of a Gentleman about him, of any one that ever I had the Honour of knowing in such a superior Station, with a down-cast-look, so as never to look one in the Face, tho' there was no Reason to doubt his personal Courage.

On the other hand, Admiral *Vernon* was a down-right honest Man; he had a hearty Zeal and a sincere Attachment for the Service of his King and Country; but abhorred the then Prime Minister; he was a very good Sea-officer, and kept a most strict Command in Discipline; but he was prodigiously passionate, and unmannerly, rude, and abusive in his Passion: In short, notwithstanding the Affectation of Humility in his Undress, he was exceeding proud: It is too true, that they had the greatest Contrariety of Tempers, and an utter Abhorrence to one another;
the

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the Original Source of all the Miscarriages
on that Expedition!

The Bane of all Britons!

Division and Contention, Bribery and Corruption amongst ourselves, with all their direful Effects; and calamitous Consequences, are now come to such a *Crisis*, that they must infallibly kill, if a Cure is not immediately found out; they admit of no Delay; but, like the *Roman State*,

We must die, to live again.

WHEN Admiral *Vernon* left *Jamaica*, the Command in Chief of all his *Britannick* Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the *West-Indies*, devolved on Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, who kept a much better Look-out for the *Spanish* Commerce to take Prizes, than to protect and encourage the *British* Commerce, and succeeded accordingly; for he took three Prizes for Admiral *Vernon's* one, and some of them very rich too; and in the Proportion of Time made six Times the Money; so that an Officer, that was made Captain of a Man of War

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by him, reckoned the Ship so far his own Property, by how much he could make of her : And indeed their principal Business was to make the most of the Ships for their own Service, rather than for that of their King and Country.

ADMIRAL *Davers* succeeded Sir *Chaloner Ogle* in the Command in Chief ; but I cannot say, that the Navy behaved much better under that Gentleman's Command: For I remember, in the Year 1746, the Admiral received timely Information from the Lords of the *Admiralty*, that there was a Fleet of *French* Merchant Ships, under the Convoy of two large Men of War and two Frigates, to sail from *France* to the *West-Indies*, at such a certain Time; and he was informed of the Course, as well as the Number, with strict Orders to intercept their Passage, with all his *Strength*, in order to give a good Account of them. Accordingly the *Admiral* (unlucky that he did not go himself!) sent four stout Line-of-battle Ships, with one of forty Guns, viz. the *Strafford*, *Plymouth*, and
Wor-

Worcester, 60 Guns, the *Lenox* 70 Guns, the *Milford* 44 Guns, the *Drake* Sloop, and the *Wager*, a new 20 Gun Ship followed: (The Admiral's own Ship the *Cornwall* of 80 Guns remained in the Harbour at *Jamaica*; and I heard the Admiral say, that she was very foul, not able to keep up with the Fleet; and that he was obliged to man the rest of the Fleet from her. It is certain, that when the Fleet failed, there were not 100 Men left on board of her: But I don't presume to excuse or vindicate this Conduct, which was all of a-piece with the rest of their Management.) A Force superior enough to blow the *French* Squadron (consisting of only four Ships of War, one of 74, another of 64, a third of 50, and the fourth of 44 Guns) into the Air, or sink them into the Sea, under the Command of Commodore *Mitchel*,

THE two Squadrons met at Sea, sure enough, and were eleven Days in Sight of one another, sometimes within a League or two, but there was nothing done, only

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a small Brush in the Night-time for two or three Hours, when the *French* were the *Attackers*; and our Commodore said he never could get up with them afterwards, notwithstanding the *French* had sixty deep-loaded Merchant-men at least to protect and cover; which they did effectually, whilst our Commodore was pursuing, which the *Jamaicans* called, conveying them into their Harbour, to the great Reproach of the *British* Squadron.

It seems as if the *British* Navy had forgot their ancient Way of Fighting, to fall on at once, without saying *Grace*: They are become a great deal more cautious now-a-days than formerly. It is true, they had greedy Eyes on these rich Merchant-ships for Prizes; but the *French* Commodore would not consent to it without fighting; so our Commodore was so very complaisant to *Monsieur* ———, as not to meddle with them at all, but only saw them safe into Cape François, Hispaniola; and so returned safe into the Harbour of Port Royal, Jamaica, without losing

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losing one Man in the Battle, which afforded Matter of *Scandal* for the People of *Jamaica* for some Months, who excel in that Quality above all the World that I have ever seen.

I NEVER was a Sea-man, consequently no competent Judge of this Case; but it seemed to put me in mind of the *Car-men* of the City of *London*, who stand at some little Distance one from another, make a terrible loud Noise, talk big in *Billingsgate* Language, but seldom or never come to Blows; if they do, 'tis very often only for a *Brush* and away.

HOWEVER it fell out, this was certainly another fine Opportunity slipt, of destroying the whole *French* Trade in the *West-Indies* irrecoverably during this War; for, by demolishing these *Men of War*; all the *Merchant-men* would have become Prizes of course, which would have prevented the *French* from carrying off their *Sugars*, and greatly assisted us in carrying off ours, which lay upon our Hands at

R 4

that

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that Time for want of Shipping, and consequently to enhance the Prices in *European* Markets at our pleasure.

THE News of this bad Conduct (to say no worse of it) struck Admiral *Dawers* to the Heart; and I really believe was the Cause of his *Death*; for, after Enquiry, he languished under a *Depression of Spirits* for some Weeks, and died.

HE was a good-natured, mannerly Gentleman, and, whilst he had the Command in Chief, was very careful and diligent in protecting and encouraging the *British* Trade, according to the best of his Knowledge and Information, which was but *lamish*: And, though Governor *Trelawny* and he were Friends, and both alike affable, yet they were constantly kept at Variance by vile Incendiaries about them.

“ Bold were the *Men*, who on the
“ Ocean first
“ Spread the new Sails, when Shipwreck
“ was the worst;

“ More

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 249

“ More Dangers now from Man alone
“ we find,
“ Than from the Rocks, the Billows, and
“ the Wind.

WALLER.

WHILST they were knocking down those Castles, I was trading on the Coast with the *Spaniards*, which gave me an Opportunity of hearing the Sentiments of the better Sort of them, I mean the trading Part. It is true, no *Spaniard* of any Figure will be seen in this *contraband* Trade himself, but he sends his Money by some *Corredor* (Broker) to be employed in Trade; and these little Fellows speak their Masters Sentiments, intermixed with their own very freely. There was a general Discontent at this long War, even in the *West-Indies*, who did not feel the Weight of it; regretting and lamenting the Destruction of Commerce, which they were very sensible must end in the intire Ruin of their Country. It is almost impossible to think of the Misery *Old Spain* has been reduced to by it; and the *Spaniards*, even in *America*,

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rica, had sagacity enough to lay the Saddle on the right Horse.

A FOREIGN Prince on the Throne, governed by a more Foreign Queen, whose ambitious Views and Projects were intirely separated from the Interest, and diametrically opposite to the Good and Commerce of *Spain*; which must certainly end in the Ruin and Destruction of their Mother Country: A Queen, who might properly be stiled the *Firebrand* of *Europe*, and indeed it was absolutely impossible that *Spain* could ever thrive whilst that Lady had any Influence in her Councils; for, the better she succeeded in her Schemes, the worse it must be for *Spain*; and the *Spaniards* themselves were very sensible of all this, but knew not how to help themselves; as appears from the many intercepted Letters that I have seen and read in their Correspondence between *Old* and *New Spain*, from whence I learnt the Miseries that *Old Spain* was reduced to, groaning under such a Load of *Oppression*, as would have drawn Tears from a Stone.

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A BUTT of Wine in *Old Spain*, formerly worth from 60 to 70 Dollars, was now offered for 10 or 12 Dollars, and often could not find a Purchaser even at that Rate; so that a Vintage, farmed at 6000 Dollars *per Annum*, would not fetch one sixth Part of the Rent, yet the poor Farmer, according to this Valuation, was obliged to furnish a Man for the War; and, if he could not find Money enough to fit out a Soldier, he was forced from his Farm with Wife and Family, and pressed into the War himself, to serve as a single Soldier; and their Correspondents particularized several amongst their Friends and Relations used in this Manner. And, though they did not feel the Weight of this War in the *Spanish West-Indies*, (for they bought Goods a great deal cheaper than from the *Spanish Commerce*) yet the low-life People even went to Exclamations against their Sovereigns, and the universal Cry amongst all Ranks of People was, *Peace with Britain, and War with the whole World!*

New

New Spain has felt none of these Miseries; for they only wanted a greater Plenty of Goods, which their Governors would not allow of, to feed their Luxury and Vanity, with their superfluous Money, that they did not know how to dispose of otherwise.

I MUST own, that it is a Misfortune for any Country to have a *Foreigner* to rule over them, but much more so to an absolute Government, than to a limited one, who always will have Views separate from the Country he governs, for they cannot coincide in every Thing; and it is impossible to shake off this *Dulcis Amor Patriæ*; but in a limited Government the Sovereign is tied down to the Laws of that Country he governs, by a mutual Contract between King and People, which he cannot break through, without *unkinging* himself; for it is a Maxim in our Law, by the Constitution, *That the King can do no wrong, unless he unkins himself by Breach of his Covenants;*

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nants; his Counsellors are answerable for all his Actions.

WHAT Beauty, methinks, there is, and Majesty enough at the same time, in that Speech the King of *Great Britain* made to his Parliament in the Year 1745, on Occasion of the *unnatural Rebellion*, then raised against him by the malicious Contrivance of his foreign and domestic Enemies.

HIS Majesty says, "I have, through
" the whole Course of my Reign, made
" the Laws of the Land the Rule of my
" Government, and the Preservation of
" the Constitution in Church and State,
" and the Rights of my People, the main
" End of my Actions, &c." He is a great and good King in so doing, and no farther is He the King of *free-born* Subjects.

AND his Majesty further says, "The
" Maxims of this Constitution shall ever
" be the Rule of my Conduct."

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IN his Majesty's most gracious Answer to the Lords Address are these Words, "Your Concern for the Preservation of our excellent Constitution in Church and State, is as agreeable to me as the Zeal you express for me and my Government."

AGAIN, in his Answer to the Commons Address, "Whatever Strength you shall place in my Hands, you may be assured shall be employed *only* to promote the Good and Happiness of my People; and to secure to them the perpetual Enjoyment of their *Religion, Laws, and Liberties.*"

THESE are not only Words but Deeds, and such is our great and good King by Contract.

AT the same Time the Kings of *France* and *Spain* published their Edicts, requiring every Subject to pay the tenth Penny of all he was worth.

Parque tel est notre plaisir.

AND,

AND, if that will not do, they press every tenth Man for their Service, because that is their Pleasure too.

These are Kings only of SLAVES.

THERE'S no Nation in the World, that I know of, adore their King as the *French* do; they adore him as a *God*, and, though they are a volatile, changeable People in every Thing else, they are constant and fixt in this Adoration; even to the last Extremity, when they were reduced to the greatest Distresses and Misery by the vain Glory of their *grand Monarch, Louis XIV.* they adored him as their Saviour, *Le Roy, & le bon Dieu*, were put upon a footing.

THE *Spaniards* go upon a different Footing, they have too exalted Opinions of themselves to adore their King; what Adoration they pay above themselves is to their *Priests*.

THE *Spaniards* and *French* are as diametrically opposite to one another in their
Way

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Way of thinking as *East* is from *West* :
So it must be a very *unnatural Union* between these two Nations.

WHILST the King of *Great Britain* raises *nine Millions Sterling*, voluntarily from his own Subjects, in nine Hours, the Kings of *France* and *Spain* cannot raise an equal Sum by all their Edicts in both their Kingdoms in *nine Months*.

The French serve their KING, whom they adore.

The Spaniards serve their PRIEST, whom they adore.

The Modern Britons and the Dutch serve MONEY, which they adore.

I HAVE seen what was said to have come from the Hands of Messrs. *John Cathcart*, and *David Campbell*, reputed Privy Counsellors to the late Lord *Cathcart*; called a Plan of the Operations for this grand secret Expedition, with my Lord *Cathcart's* Manifesto at his landing amongst the *Spaniards*, which these Gentlemen bragged of having a principal Hand
in

in themselves: But, with all due Deference to those Gentlemen's superior Judgment, it appeared to me but as a ridiculous Project, to land 10,000 Land Forces at *la Vera Cruz*, to conquer the Kingdom of *Mexico*: Yet surely they had Forces enow, to execute any reasonable Project in the *West-Indies*, under a Commander in Chief of so much Honesty, Courage, and good Conduct, as the late Lord *Cathcart* was said to have.

WHILST Admiral *Vernon* and General *Wentworth* were upon their Expedition to *Cuba*, I had with me one of the *Alcaldi's* of *St. Jago de Cuba*, on board of a trading Vessel I then had upon the Coast, who left the Town of *St. Jago de Cuba* ten Days after their Arrival at *Cumberland Harbour*, who told me, "That it was unanimously agreed on and resolved in their *Juntos*,
" (of which he was a Member, and one
" of the principal Men of that Place)
" that, upon the Attack of the Town of
" *St. Jago de Cuba*, which was not at all
" able to make any Defence, being in-
S " tirely

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“ tirely open, to make some Shew of
 “ Defence for *Honour's Sake*, and then to
 “ retire into their Castles and Fortifications
 “ in the Harbour, where they had pro-
 “ vided accordingly, and placed all their
 “ valuable Effects : For (as he also assured
 “ me) they could not raise 600 able Men
 “ to be depended on, the Governor of
 “ *Havanna de Cuba* having swept the
 “ Country of Men for the Defence of that
 “ Place.” Therefore the 1000 *Negroes*
 they carried from *Jamaica* on that Expe-
 dition, was sufficient Force to have taken
 the Town of *St. Jago de Cuba* ; and con-
 sequently done the Business effectually.

THIS *Alcaldi* likewise assured me,
 which can be easily attested, that the
 Roads from *Cumberland Harbour*, where
 the Army landed and the Fleet lay, were
 as clear and passable as any in the *West-*
Indies : And, by taking Possession of the
 Town, which I really believe, from other
 good Information, might have been done
 with little or no Resistance, they would
 have had a *Blockade* for the Fortifications
 in

in the Harbour, which are very strong indeed, especially towards the Sea; but they must have capitulated in a short Time, without firing a Gun, for want of Water; for, as the said Person also told me, all their *Tank-water* was not sufficient to supply the ordinary Garrison above three Weeks; and they were obliged to fetch their Water at three Miles distance, which they constantly did at that Time to spare their *Tank-water*; but had not had the Fore-sight to fill their *Tanks*, never expecting to be attacked by Land; and that Communication was very easily cut off by an advanced Party from the Town. But our General thought fit to let his Army die like Rats, Hundreds upon Hundreds, without firing a single Shot, for fear of alarming the *Spaniards*, and indeed, it appears clear to my Understanding, that they never had a Design of taking Possession of that, or any other Town in the *Spanish West-Indies*. I only speak of these Things according to the Light I have seen them in; what private Reasons there might be, for not doing of it,

it, I shall not pretend to account for, as they are *Politicks* greatly above the Reach of my Apprehension.

WHEN they could not take the Town of St. *Jago de Cuba*, how could they conquer the Kingdom of *Mexico*?

I HAVE all due Regard for these Gentlemen's Capacity, sufficient enough in their own mercantile Way, but no ways equal to the projecting, carrying on, and executing such a grand Project and Undertaking: But they projected very well for themselves, for they engrossed two of the most lucrative Posts and Employments on the whole Expedition, and knew very well how to play all the Game to make the most of them.

JOHN CATHCART, Esq; was *Director General* of the Hospitals, and Purveyor for all the Sick and Wounded of his Majesty's Land Forces on that Expedition, and accordingly contracted with one Mr. *Hamilton* and Company, to provide the Sick with all Necessaries at *two Shillings Sterling*

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Sterling a Day per Head; a very handsome Allowance even in that Country, where all Provisions are very dear: Yet it was so very badly performed, that the poor sick Soldiers were perishing for Want of the common Necessaries of Life, and an House to lie in. Upon these crying Calamities there was a *Court Martial* held, to enquire into the Cause of the Neglect, and to discover the Delinquents; But, upon Enquiry, it all ended in ~~Nothing~~.
Nothing.

THEN they built an *Hospital*, as they called it, for the Sick; fifty Huts of Mud, thatched with *Palmeto* Leaves; which cost 200 *l. Sterling* each, and the whole Number of course 10,000 *l. Sterling*; whereas they might have built better *Huts*, by employing twenty *Negroes* for twenty Days Time, at the Expence of 20 *l.* each *Hut*: But these were laid out and built under the Direction of the Engineers of the Army, wherein they shewed their Ingenuity more, than at the little Fort of *San Lazaro* at *Cartagena*.

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THEN there was a new Contract made with new Contractors, at two Shillings^s *Sterling* only for the Maintenance of each sick Soldier, for they were furnished with Medicines from the Chests of Medicines belonging to the Army, and the Articles of due Performance were drawn up under a Penalty: With these new Regulations I officiated in the Care of the Hospital, by Deputation from Dr. *Graham*, *Physician General* to the Army on that Expedition; and I dare venture to say, calling the whole Hospital to witness, during my Time, there was great Plenty of the very best Provisions, and all manner of other Necessaries for the Sick, and Money enough besides for the Contractors; for they had made a very good Bargain; and I had my Share of it, whilst I officiated amongst them; and I don't at all doubt, but the same Care was continued, under the Gentleman's Direction who succeeded Dr. *Graham*.

THESE were very good *Pickings* for the Pay-master and his Associates, because
these,

these, and all other contingent Charges were paid at the Rate of 120 *l.* *Jamaica* Currency, and they deducted 5 *per Cent.* Poundage, as they called it ; so there was only 115 *l.* *Jamaica* Money paid for 100 *l.* *Sterling*, for which Receipts were passed for the *Pay-master* in full of all Demands. I *myself* was paid at this Rate, whilst the Exchange for the Army was paid at a greater Advance, fluctuating from time to time : But how Mr. *Pay-master* and his *Associates* divided the Spoil I can't tell ; for I could never learn their proportional Shares. “ These were the Reformers of “ Abuses, and Complainers of Injustice “ done in *Exchange of the Money!*”

I REMEMBER to have seen a Dialogue on this Subject, betwixt *John Colebroke* and *John Merrywether*, Esquires, said to be wrote by Mr. *Colebroke*. A curious Piece !

I ANSWERED by a Paper, entitled, *The Development of John Colebroke, Esq;* wherein the great General, the great Mr. *Manning*, Major *Chamerry*, and *John*

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Colebrooke, Esq; were the *Dramatis Personæ*: But I have lost both, not being worth preserving.

THERE was indeed a large, handsome, convenient *Hospital* built in *Jamaica*, for the Reception of the sick and wounded *Seamen* of his Majesty's Navy, by the Direction of Admiral *Vernon*, the most beautiful Edifice, the best contrived, and commodious for the Climate, and completely fitted up in a better Manner than any *Hospital* that ever I have seen out of *Europe*; but it must likewise fall to ruin very soon, for want of proper Regulations and Officers under a right Direction, for the whole Business already seemed to be, *Who should make the most of it!*

IN short, the whole Expedition appeared to me like a *Tragi-comical Farce*, a great Multitude of People got together, all striving and scrambling *who should get uppermost*, at any Rate, by fair, or foul Means, with Plenty of Money stirring amongst them, very unequally divided; for, whilst some were lining their Pock-

ets with Gold, I have seen the poor Soldiers starving in the Streets for want: And indeed how is it possible, that even a *subaltern Officer* can subsist in a Country, where he cannot get a Dinner for a Day's Pay, and must pay 6 s. 3 d. of that Country Money for a Night's Lodging, or lye in the Streets? But the only great *Struggle* seemed to be, who should get most of the *Spoil* and *Plunder* amongst themselves, without having any malicious Views or envious Designs against the poor dastardly Spaniards.

BUT as for the grand *Project* it was a *Secret*; I never expected, and entirely despair of ever coming to the real Truth and Knowledge of it; for I did really believe, as it only lived, so it died with our *Prime Minister* and Cardinal *Fleury*, perhaps Mr. *Wentworth* might have had some *private Instructions*, but I dare venture to say, Admiral *Vernon* had none, nor the least *Communication* or *Correspondence* with the *Prime Minister*. The *Admiral's* Head was not turned to be a *Courtier*;

his Passions were so strong, they left no room for *Disimulation*. The very *Spaniards* observed of him, that he was the only *English* Admiral, that ever they knew, to say any Prayers at all; for he was indeed very regular and observant of his *Devotion*, and I believe in earnest in all his other Business.

HOWEVER it may be, it made *Money* circulate in *Jamaica*, and enriched that Island greatly, with no great Disadvantage to *Great Britain*, further than the Loss of so many Hands by Mortality, for the *Spaniards* did not kill a great many of them. It is true, there were some hundreds of them run their Heads against a dead Stone Wall in the very Mouths of Cannon, at a poor little Fort, called *San Lazero*, near *Cartagena*, (where I have slept many a Night) because their General bid them do it.

WHEN the *Vice King* had an Account of this *Action*, he said, *If my Master had such Men as these, what could he not do?* He was an old experienced Officer; by his

his military Discipline and regular Conduct he saved the Town of *Cartagena*; for he timely sent off before the Siege all the Women, Children, and supernumerary Clergy, and kept all the effective Men in Town with all their Effects; nay, he was so strict, that every Man was searched when he went out of Town to see his Family, and not allowed to carry above *five Pistoles* at a Time, and find Security for his Return: All which he acted upon this solid Maxim, *That if they will not fight for their own Effects, they will never fight for their King and Country.*

As for the *Cash* that was spent upon the Expedition, it all returned to *Britain* in a very short Time, but left *Jamaica* much richer, and in much better Credit than formerly.

IN short, methought I saw a great Heap of *Money* thrown amongst a great *Mob*, all striving who should get most of it; so that the strongest is sure of carrying off the greatest Share of the Spoil; others indeed

deed may get a few Pickings, but *The Weakest must certainly go to the Wall.*

THUS was the Nation bubbled and disgraced; for the War seemed to be made more upon ourselves than against our Enemies.

WE owe the Island of *Jamaica* to that most extraordinary great (I may likewise say wicked, for he was not a King) Man, *Oliver Cromwell*, which is now one of the best Jewels in the *British* Crown. It is situated in the very Heart of all the *West-Indies* as if the *Almighty Author of Nature* had placed it there on purpose, on account of the Commodiousness of its Situation, for Trading with the *British*, *Spanish* and *French West-Indian* Colonies.

THERE's no Nation in the World can maintain a numerous *Army* and *Navy* in the *West-Indies*, but *Britain* alone by the Help of *Jamaica*, as appeared by the Expedition in the Year 1740, when that Island fed above twenty thousand Strangers,

gers, (to my certain Knowledge) besides its own Inhabitants, for above twelve Months, without any Scarcity, or any other Inconveniency than *raising the Price of Provisions*; nor did they leave any Scarcity behind them, yet the advanced Prices continued; and it is certain, there's no Place in the known World, where *Provisions* are in such Plenty, and so dear as in *Jamaica*, which is a Sign of the Plenty, and consequently the Cheapness of Money; for a *Spanish Real*, (called a *Bit*) which is *Seven-pence Half-penny* currency, the lowest Species of Coin they have there, is of no more Value than a Half-penny in *England*, there must have been a greater Plenty of *Money* in *Jamaica*, in proportion than in any other Place; or, that *Money* was extraordinary cheap, or greatly undervalued there: But the real Cause was a *Combination* amongst the landed Interest in the *Assembly*.

It is a very great Disadvantage to the Country in general, to have no less Currency than this *Bit*, but more particularly

ly affects and distresses the Poor ; yet this *Oppression* is supported by the *landed Interest*, (of whom the *Assembly* consists) from which they reap a considerable Benefit, the Produce of their Plantations being all manner of *Eatables*, Fruits, Greens, Roots, &c. which are paid for at extravagant Rates, as well by the Labour of the working *Mechanicks* and industrious Poor, as the Extravagancies of the trading Part of the People, the *Planter* from his *Pennis* reaping the Fruit of both. But in all other his *Britannick Majesty's Colonies* in the *West-Indies*, a *Bit* is divided into at least four Parts Currency.

WE have no occasion to fight our Enemies in the *West-Indies*, if we are true and faithful amongst ourselves ; and not supply them with Provisions, naval Stores, &c. nay we can starve them out, as is very evident above.

I HAVE seen a Computation, made by those who were allowed to be competent Judges in these Affairs, that all the *Plantation*

tation or Cane Land in Jamaica, sufficiently cultivated, and fully stocked with Negroes, Cattle, Works, &c. one Acre with another, produced 20 l. Jamaica Currency per Annum, communibus annis.

MR. Carver's Plantation was reckoned the best in Jamaica, and there were eleven Acres of that Estate (as I was informed by the Overseer) that yielded fifty one Hogsheads of Sugar one Year with another; and the whole Estate was reckoned to produce three Hogsheads an Acre, one with another.

IN the marshy Ground there grows a long strong Grass, taller than an ordinary Man's Height, (commonly called Scotch Grass) very good for feeding of Horses, &c. I have heard an Owner of one of these Scotch Grass-pieces say, that an Acre of this Land would produce Grass sufficient to maintain ten Horses yearly at 10 l. a Head, which is a 100 l. yearly: And, at a very modest Computation, an Acre feeds at least six Horses all the Year round in
Grass

Grafs, at 10 l. a Head, which is 60 l. per Annum, but the common *Pasture-lands* (commonly called *Penns*) don't produce one sixth Part of this Money, and this Grafs-land is cultivated at a very small Expenſe, at moſt fifty Negroes is ſufficient to keep fifty Acres in good Order all the Year round, which is a very ſmall Stock in compariſon of *Cane-land*: And, take all the Country of the Iſland of *Jamaica* round, it has perhaps the greateſt Produce of any Land in the known World, when rightly cultivated.

THO' I have lived long in *Jamaica* from time to time, yet I am no judge in planting Affairs; but I have made a ſufficient Enquiry only for my own Satisfaction; and am of Opinion, that this Calculation will answer at a *Medium*: Therefore, if fully peopled and ſtocked, that Iſland would bring a prodigious Revenue to the Crown of *Great Britain*, and an immense Treafure to the Subjects.

I HAVE likewise heard it aſſerted,
“ That

“ That the Island of *Jamaica*, joined
“ with the rest of his *Britannick* Ma-
“ jesty’s Colonies in the *West-Indies* bring
“ more Money to the Crown of *Great*
“ *Britain*, than the whole *Spanish West-*
“ *Indies* bring to the Crown of *Spain*.”

And thus far I can say, that I am really
of Opinion, that *Jamaica* alone brings
more Advantage to the Crown and Sub-
jects of *Great Britain*, than the whole
Kingdom of *New Granada* brings to the
Crown and Subjects of *Spain*.

WHEN I lived at *Cartagena*, I had an
Opportunity of knowing these Affairs
rightly. It is true the King of *Spain* has,
or ought to have, his *Quinta* (*fifth Part*)
of all the *Gold* and *Silver* dug from the
Mines in the new Kingdom of *Granada*,
and all his other rich Kingdoms, *Mexico*,
Peru, &c. in his Dominions in the *West-*
Indies; and there are some very rich
Mines in *Popayan* and *Choco* in this King-
dom of *New Granada*; for which Rea-
son his *Catholick Majesty* has a Royal
Mint, with an *Essayer-general*, and all
T other

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other proper Officers under him, to receive all the *Gold, Silver, &c.* dug from the Mines, to assay, to give proper Certificates of its Value, and retain his Majesty's *Quinta*.: But I dare venture to say, at a modest Computation, there is not *one half* of what is dug from the Mines comes to account for the Payment of the *Quinta*, and what his Majesty does get is all expended in that Country, towards the Maintenance and Support of his Royal Officers, other Officers, Guards and Garrisons, &c. &c. &c. So that all the Time I lived amongst them at *Cartagena*, near ten Years, there never was *one* Piece of Eight, in the Royal Chests of the King's Revenues, of the Kingdom of *New Granada*, to my certain Knowledge; not only all being expended before-hand, but were greatly in Debt: And there is but little Reason to think, that they have been richer since the War with *Great Britain*, and the Demolition of their Castles.

WHEN I lived at *Jamaica* I computed
300 Sail of Ships and Top-sail Vessels
yearly,

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 275
yearly, from 300 to 80 Tons, besides a great Number of small Craft, only to carry off the Produce of that Island, which comes to a much better Account to the Crown and Subjects of *Great Britain*, than the Produce of his *Catholick* Majesty's Mines does to *Spain*, of which Foreigners chiefly reap the Advantage.

I REMEMBER to have heard the late great Earl of *Hallifax* say, in the House of Lords, "That, in his Opinion, it
" would be a great Disadvantage to *Great*
" *Britain*, to be in Possession of the *Spa-*
" *nish West-Indian* Mines; for, whilst
" the *British* Manufacturers staid at Home,
" to mind and improve their Manufac-
" tures, they had so many *Slaves* work-
" ing abroad for them in the Mines."
And when this Trade is in a right Channel, and rightly improved, I know this, by long Experience, to be a great Truth, and the most beneficial Branch of Trade that I know, or ever heard of, in the whole World, with the Returns all in Specie.

Jamaica is governed by their own Laws, according to the *British* Constitution, though subjected to Appeals to the King and Council : The Inhabitants are a stiff, unruly, and ungovernable People, living almost like a Parcel of *Men-eaters* devouring one another ; the *greater* eating up the *lesser*. They are composed of (a very odd Sort of Medley indeed !) the Refuse of the *British* Nation, intermixed with some *Irish*, and they, for the most Part, *Roman Catholicks* in Disguise : (And it is a known Truth, there are no Enemies so inveterate against the *British* Nation, as the *Irish Roman Catholicks*) Tho' there was a very good Law in *Jamaica*, to prevent Dangers arising from professed and concealed *Papists*, yet it is now repealed ; but upon what Account, and for what Reasons, I could never learn ; and I wish, from the bottom of my Heart, they may never have Reason to repent the repealing of that Act of the Assembly.

I HAVE said, that *Money is Emperor of the*

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 277

the World, and I am sure, that it is the Lord of Jamaica.

THE *Jews* make up a very considerable Part of the Inhabitants, and have a larger Share of Trade than the *Christians* in Proportion to their Number. I have no Aversion to any Man, or Set of People, for *Religion's* Sake only; provided always, that the Tenets of their Religion are not contrary to the Rules of the Society I live in: But I do declare, that these were the worst Set of *Rogues* that ever I knew, in the whole Course of my Life; a Set of meer low-life *Thieves*, (as bad as the *Negroes* themselves, who are all naturally *Thieves*) the meaner Part of whom held a strict Correspondence with all *thieving Negroes*, from whom they received the stolen Goods. There was no Trust or Confidence to be put even in the better Sort of them, in the most valuable Ties of all Society, the Bands of Commerce, the Breach of which is the Bane of all trading Societies; and, as they lived at a much less Expence than the *Christians*,

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by these Means, and their sinister Ways, they over-reached and greatly out-traded them in *Jamaica*, and some of them acquired great Estates.

I do acknowledge their saving their Money and employing it in Trade increases in a Duplicate, Triplicate, &c Proportion, which proves a National Advantage to a trading Country; and at the same time I own, their under-selling the *Christians* by retail in the Community where they lived, to engross the Trade to themselves, was a general Benefit, by keeping the *Jamaica Christians*, who have no more Conscience than the *Jews*, from taking exorbitant Prices for every Trifle they sold.

THE Off-spring of the *British* and *Irish* make up a Set by themselves, called *Creols*, (all the Natives of his *Britannick* Majesty's Dominions in the *West-Indies*, of whatever Denomination or Colour are so called) who, generally speaking, get a
Knock

Knock in the Cradle, which no Education is able to shake off.

THERE'S no general Rule without an Exception; for I have known Men of great Capacity and Abilities in *Jamaica*, who would have made a Figure in any Part of the World, and as honest as the Place could well afford, being furrounded on all hands by *cunning* Knaves: (N. B. the great Lord *Verulam* gives *Cunning* the Title of *Left-banded-wisdom*.) So that sometimes they were obliged to make use of all the chicaning Weapons in *Self-defence*, to save themselves, otherwise they must infallibly have been destroyed; for it is impossible for a moral honest Man, who launches out into Business, to live and subsist among them.

I HAVE known also some very clever Fellows, even amongst the *Creols*: There was a pretty prevalent Custom among them, *The longest liver takes all*; and he that has the most Money is the best Man amongst them: So that a *Jamaica-Exe-*

cutor was reckoned better than the Heir; and I always observed the *Irish* hunted in Packs, and divided the Spoil; and whenever they miscarried, they all contributed towards the Loss. They were deep-mouthed Hounds! I had the Misfortune to encounter with a Pack of them, and they hunted me till I was almost worried several times: But I escaped from them at last by a long *Chancery* Suit.

THE Governor for the Time being is always *Chancellor*; the then Chancellor was a Gentleman of strict Honour, and undoubted Integrity; in so much that, I verily believe, no Consideration on Earth could have *biassed* him from what he thought *Justice*: But his greatest Foible was,

Nemo sine crimine vivit.

that he believed every body about him as honest as himself; whereas, to my certain Knowledge, there were Persons about him the very reverse, which sooner or later he'll be fully convinced of, from his
own

own Experience, without any Information.

WHEN His Excellency was resigning his Opinion to others, he was submitting a *superior* to an *inferior Understanding*, which laid him open to their mercenary Views and sinister Designs, wherein he must find Difficulties in extricating himself: In short, they mired his Excellency on all hands to such a degree, that the fairest Character could not escape without some Dirt, and some of it must stick hard and fast, before his Excellency gets cleverly out of it. This brings to my Mind Cicero's great Man, or rather great Wonder, amongst the rest of his Set.

Maximeque admirantur eum,

Qui PECUNIA non movetur.

This Sentence is worthy of Cicero; but I found it applied to my Lord Chancellor Macclesfield, by a Gentleman of the Law in a *Dedication* to his Lordship long before his *Impeachment*.

EVER

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-EVER since I have known *Jamaica*, which is almost thirty Years, I never knew a Governor there, that did not put himself into *Leading-strings*. It is true, whilst *Peter Beckford* lived, it was a Sort of *Force-put*; there was a Necessity for it, for those who would not be led he drove; and, as the Saying is, *they must needs go, whom the Devil drives*. Indeed, he had both Ability and Capacity enough for it, and, had he lived another Age, in all probability, the whole Island would have become his own Property; but he has been gone *Home* some time ago; therefore ever since his Death it must be voluntary Resignation, where there is not even an *Inclination* to withstand.

THE Climate is very tolerable, with Plenty of Provisions of all kinds, enough even to feed *Luxury*, but most extravagantly expensive, even for the Produce of the Island.

ON the 20th of *October*, 1744, we had a most dreadful *Hurricane* in *Jamaica*,
the

the only one (thank God!) that ever I saw in the *West-Indies*. It began about Noon, and lasted about twenty four Hours, and blowed all the Shipping in *Port Royal* and *Kingston* Harbours on Shore, except one of his Majesty's Ships that rode it out. It did incredible Damage in Town and Country, by carrying off all the Wharfs, damaging Warehouses and Works, lodging and rooting up the Canes, Fruit-trees, Plantain-walks, &c. In short, the Damage was so very considerable, that it could not well be calculated exactly; but I have heard it computed at about 500,000 *l.* to the Island of *Jamaica* alone. Notwithstanding the greatest Part of the King's, as well as the Merchant's Ships and Vessels, were got off again, which made the Loss come out not near so terrible as at first imagined. And, what was very remarkable in this Storm, it did not reach the *French* nor *Spanish* Colonies, but confined itself within a few Leagues off of the Island of *Jamaica*.

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THE old People of the Island remembered former Storms, which, they said, blowed much harder, but did not last a fourth Part of the Time, nor did half the Damage. Methinks, I have seen a greater Storm in *England*, which, indeed, always happened in the Winter-time, when there was nothing in the Fields to damage; and, the Houses and Works being better and stronger built, it did not affect them so much; but their principal Loss used to fall upon the *Shipping*, and indeed the chief Loss of a *West-Indian Hurricane* falls on them, which casts the dead Weight at last upon the Mother Country, *Britain*.

BUT what surprized me greatly was, to speak of this Hurricane a little philosophically, that the *Trees* and *Busbes* were stript of their Leaves, (and even of some of their Bark) as bare as in the middle of Winter in *England*, and in a *Week's* Time after I saw all the Fields covered with Verdure, in *two Weeks* I measured Leaves full grown seven Inches, and eat the

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 285

the rough ripe *Figs*, in presence of *Alexander Innes*, Provost Marshal, and *William Lindsay*, Clerk of the grand Court, Esquires, off of a Tree, that, as they attested to me, was quite bare *three Weeks* before. The quickest Vegetation perhaps ever known in the whole World! From a dead Winter to a Summer, or rather Harvest, in three Week's Time! What is it then that Island is not capable of producing, if rightly cultivated, and were in the Hands of Men of *common Honour* and *Honesty*, or Industry truly encouraged? But it is impossible for any Country to thrive, where *Liberty* and *Property* is not legally and equitably secured and supported in all Hands alike, with *Arts* and *Industry* equally encouraged according to *Merit* only.

THERE is a small River here at *St. Jago de la Vega*, commonly called *Spanish Town*, which rose to an incredible Height in twenty four Hours Time, at least an hundred Feet, perpendicular, which

which Inundation did great Damage to the adjacent Country.

THE Houses of this Town, which is the Court of *Jamaica*, suffered greatly, as they are very meanly built. If I was to describe them truly, I could only say, the People, live in the King's High-way, with a Cover over them to protect them a little from the Sun and Rain; for the Piazzas, which are the most useful Part of their Houses, are in the King's High-way, the publick Street; so that every body that passes has the same Freedom of looking into your House as the Possessor of it; yet these Huts let much dearer than fine Houses in *London*.

UPON the back of this general Calamity, there was a *Conspiracy* amongst the *Negroes*, for a general Infurrection, to destroy all the *white* People; but, before it came to Maturity, it was luckily discovered, and crushed in the Bud; otherwise a very short Time would have carried the Scheme, which was very regularly

larly laid, into Execution, to the Destruction of the Island; For which Crime several of the *Negroes* suffered Death, some being burnt alive, and others hanged.

FROM the irregular Government of their *Negroes* in *Jamaica*, I have always dreaded some such fatal Consequence, and I wish, from my Soul, that what I have feared may never take place; for they have no manner of Discipline amongst the *Negro-slaves*, neither Religious nor Civil, but the Exercise of the Whip and Stocks, and they are too often used very indifferently, sometimes wrongfully and most unmercifully.

THE *Negroes* are stubborn, resolute and revengeful Creatures in their own Way; but seldom or never grateful. Their natural Temper appears in more lively Colours, as they are intirely without all manner of Education, and, generally speaking, it exerts itself in *Low-cunning*, which they employ in Theft, or Revenge; and, when they have miss'd of their Aim,
I have

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I have known them very frequently revenge it on themselves, by cutting their own Throats; as happened to the principal Ring-leader of this Conspiracy, who, when he found the Plot was discovered, cut his Throat, and died hard, for he would confess little or nothing, though the Truth of it appeared to a Demonstration to be a very regular laid Plot.

THERE was at that Time computed to be about 100,000 *Negroes* in the Island, and, by a Law of the Country, for every 10 *Negroes*, there ought to be one *white Man*; but this had been so very little observed, that, I am pretty sure, at that Time there was not in the Country, on a modest Computation, one *white Man* for fifty *Negroes*: And the *white* Servants that come, or are sent thither, are the very Scum of the Earth, and, generally speaking, prove good for nothing; tho' there's no Country in the World where a *Tradesman* can earn so much Wages.

WHEREAS the *Spaniards* have much better

better Government and Discipline amongst the *Negroes* in their *West-Indies*; at their Introduction the *Jesuits* take care to instruct them in some of the fundamental Principles of the *Christian Religion*; and the *Assiento Company* cannot sell their *Negroes*, without a Certificate of their being first *Christned*, which is done in eight or ten Days from their Introduction, and sometimes the *Baptism* is over in three or four Days, when Dispatch is required for Sale, and a valuable Consideration is given; but they are afterwards more fully instructed, and bred up in the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, the very best Religion in the World that I know of, to keep the Vulgar in a *slavish Awe*, and the greatest and best Policy, to subject the whole Body of *Laicks* to the *Ecclesiastic State*.

I REMEMBER in the *Reprisalia*, 1727, I had a *Negro-boy*, who was bred up a *Roman Catholick*, amongst the *Spaniards* at *Cartagena*, whom I always found to be very honest and true to his Trust;

U where-

wherefore I did not care to part from him, so I brought him along with me to *Jamaica*, and left him there till I went to *London*; and about two Years afterwards, upon my Return, I carried him over to *Cartagena* again, still reposing the same Trust in him as formerly: But I had not been there above two Months, before he stole a Chest of Rhubarb from me, value 200 *l. Sterling* prime Cost in *London*. I challenged him with the Theft, but he denied it stoutly, instanced his former Trusts to ten times the Value, that he had discharged faithfully, resolutely stood all Threats and Punishments, Confinement with his Head in the Stocks, a great many Whippings from time to time, &c. Tho' I was convinced that no-body but he could be guilty, yet I had some Remorse about it, as it was not impossible that he might be innocent; so I gave it over intirely for lost, till one Day I ask'd the *Negro*, Who was his *Confessor*? He told me *Padre Antonio*, whose Sister I was intimately acquainted with. I told her the whole Story, with the Promise of an handsome

some Reward upon Restitution. She answered me, " Leave the Management of that
" Affair intirely to me; in mean time
" you are to promise, upon your Honour,
" that upon Restitution you are to ask no
" Questions of the *Negro*: In short, said
" she, you are not to say one Syllable
" more to any one Person about it." All
which I promised, and succeeded accordingly,
whether by the Force of the Lady's Rhetoric,
or the *Padre's* Ecclesiastical Power of Perswasion I know not; but, in
about ten Days Time, the *Chest of Rhubarb*
was set down in the very Place from whence
it was taken up, wanting about 6 lb. which I
took no notice of, as the Remainder fetched me
above 4000 Pieces of Eight.

The wonderful Force and Effect of Ecclesiastical Policy and Government!

I HAVE likewise been transiently at
some other of his *Britannick Majesty's*
Colonies in the *West-Indies*, *St. Christopher's*,
Barbadoes, &c. The Island of *Barbadoes*
was regularly settled during the

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Reigns of King *James I.* *Charles I.* and *Charles II.* and some of the best Families in *England* were concerned in the settling of it at their own Expence, and sent their younger Sons to support the Settlement, who were soon followed by whole Families of Credit and Reputation: But *Jamaica* was taken from the *Spaniards* in the Year 1655, and settled by a Parcel of *Oliverian Banditti*, whose Customs and Manners they have not as yet been able to shake off, and I am afraid never will.

I do declare, and without Prejudice too, there was as great a Difference, in Point of Manners and Behaviour, between the Inhabitants of *Barbadoes* and those of *Jamaica*, as between *St. James's* and *Wapping*.

THE People of *Barbadoes* had something of *Genius*, and a polite, genteel Education, as appears by their Miscellaneous Essays on various Subjects, occasionally published in two Volumes in 4to, entitled, *Carribbeana*, chiefly wrote by the Gentlemen

men and Ladies of that Island: Whereas few Gentlemen or Ladies of *Jamaica* knew how to write, or even spell truly to the End of a common Letter: The very Propriety and Accent of the *English* Language were quite corrupted in this Island, by conversing so much with *Mulattoes* and *Negros*; for they were so very closely intermixed, that they suckled, eat, drank, and lay together; wherefore their Tempers and Manners may be very easily accounted for. Most spent their Estates in their *Life-time*, others left what they had at their Death amongst those Creatures. I could give innumerable Instances of the first, and amongst the last I remember one *Cross*, a *Jamaica Grandee*, *Receiver General* of the Island, who acquired a very considerable Fortune, and lived, died, and left his All amongst those Vermin, whilst his Brothers and poor Relations were starving for Want. Most Part of the *Creols*, and a great many other Inhabitants, will leave the finest white Women of the Island, to enjoy and cohabit with those Creatures: It is natural

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for the *Creols* so to do, they suck in the *Affection*, or rather *Infection*, with their Nurses Milk, and the rest of the Inhabitants acquire it by Custom and Habitude, which are a second Nature.

Simile simili gaudet.

I COULD not slip a curious Philosophical Account, and very just Observation on the Natives and Inhabitants of *Jamaica*, by an ingenious Gentleman, a Clergyman of Letters, lately arrived in that Island, and I cannot do him more Justice than to insert it in his own Words,

To the Publishers of the JAMAICA GAZETTE, April 21, 1744.

———*Varium cæli prædiscere Morem,
Cura sit, ac patrios cultusq; habitusq;
Locorum,
Et quid quæq; ferat Regio, & quid quæq;
recuset.* VIRG. Geor. l. ii.

S I R S,

“ I HAVE by me a general Map of human Understanding, with all the Depths and Shallows of the Mind, the
“ Ebbs

“ Ebbs and Flows of Humour, and the
“ Variations of the Compass of Wit,
“ throughout the whole habitable Globe.
“ I here send you an Extract of the parti-
“ cular Chart laid down with the utmost
“ Exactness for this Climate. The Au-
“ thor of this intellectual Cosmography,
“ if I may so call it, is very singular in
“ one Circumstance of his Style; whatever
“ Country he describes, he speaks always
“ of it as his own, a strong Instance of his
“ Impartiality, and Unwillingness to give
“ Offence, and that he esteemed himself
“ a Citizen of the World.

“ THE *Torrid Zone*, says my curious
“ Traveller, has no where so remarkable
“ an Influence on the Dispositions and Ca-
“ pacities both of *Europeans* and Natives,
“ as in the *Meridian* under which I now
“ reside. The Imagination, in the Lati-
“ tude of JAMAICA, is found, from the
“ nicest Observation, to be lively, tho’ the
“ Judgment don’t appear altogether so
“ firm. The Faculty of Attention is con-
“ siderably diminished, but the Quickness

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“ of Apprehension is increased in just
“ Proportion. *Horace* says,

“ *Cælum non Animum mutant, qui trans
mare currunt.* Epist. xi. l. i.

“ But in his Time this Part of the World
“ was unknown, otherwise he had said,
“ with respect to a Voyage hither,

“ *Cælum atq; Ingenium mutat, qui trans
mare currit.*

“ THE Natives and Inhabitants of this
“ Climate enter warmly into any Proposal
“ for the publick Good, and cool as sud-
“ denly. This surprizing Change wrought
“ on the Mind by the Operation of the Air
“ may be illustrated, and possibly ex-
“ plained, by Instances drawn from Natu-
“ tural Philosophy; but, as Physical Proofs
“ serve more for Entertainment than In-
“ struction, I shall entirely wave them.

“ THE Proverbial Saying, *That second
“ Thoughts are best*, will by no means hold
“ good in this Island. The Latitude of
“ eighteen to nineteen, I absolutely affirm,
“ admits

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 297

“ admits of no *second Thoughts* ; but who-
“ ever lives in it, be he never so *transient*,
“ must follow the Impulse, or rather *Im-*
“ *petus* of his Genius, in order either to
“ act or write well. All Resolutions, whe-
“ ther Publick or Private, must be carried
“ into immediate Execution, otherwise
“ the good Intention evaporates, not from
“ any Vice of the Mind, but from the
“ mere mechanick Effect of the Consti-
“ tution of the Air.

“ A MAN cannot persist here in pub-
“ lick Spirit, for want of animal Spirits,
“ which quickly exhaust themselves. If,
“ by some lucky Hit, the scattered Rays
“ of Policy, or Wit, be gathered into a
“ *Focus*, let 'em exert themselves effec-
“ tually ; for the Moment they are dis-
“ persed, there is an end of all their
“ Action.

“ A PERSON, whose Composition
“ you would one Moment imagine to be
“ all Mercury and Volatile Salt, becomes
“ the very next an insipid Piece of Earth
“ wha

“ what the Chemists call *Caput Mor-*
 “ *tuum*, or *Terra damnata*, which last
 “ Term some rashly apply to the Island
 “ itself.

“ PERHAPS it may be objected, That
 “ my Advice tends to hurry Folks on into
 “ too hasty Conclusions, which, upon more
 “ deliberate Views, would allow of much A-
 “ mendment, if not appear wholly rash; that
 “ great Caution and Circumspection is re-
 “ quisite to digest a Scheme; that every ac-
 “ cidental, as well as necessary Consequence
 “ ought to be taken into Consideration. This
 “ sober Method of Proceeding is, I grant,
 “ absolutely proper in *Europe*, among
 “ People of a dull and phlegmatic Tem-
 “ perament, who are for the most Part
 “ of the Year involved in Fogs. There
 “ the Fancy is not alert enough to strike
 “ Things out at the first Heat, there Time
 “ and Leisure are wanting to bring the Pro-
 “ ductions of the Mind, as well as those
 “ of the Earth, to due Maturity; but we
 “ in this Isle may apply to ourselves the
 “ Cha-

“Character *Dido* gives of herself and Sub-
“jects,

“*Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Pæni,*

“*Nec tam averſus equos Tyriâ Sol jungit ab*

“*Urbe,*

VIRG. *Æn.* l. i.

“HERE the Sun is ſo kindly, that it
“forwards the Powers of the Soul, like
“the Juices of ſome Trees, where you
“ſee Bloſſoms and ripe Fruits at the ſame
“Time; that is, we can conceive a Suc-
“ceſſion of Projects, ſome crude and
“green, e’re others are well concocted;
“but with this Difference from the Bear-
“ings of our Trees, that the Fruit of our
“Brains becomes rotten as ſoon almoſt as
“ripe, and therefore their Point, or De-
“gree of Perfection, is to be narrowly
“watched, elſe they fall immediately to
“the ground. Now this cannot be ac-
“counted for by the general Principle of
“Gravity, which inclines Bodies to their
“Centre, for Deſigns drop here from
“mere Levity.

“ IN

" IN short, the Dwellers in *Europe* are
 " utter Strangers to what we call the
 " prickly Heat, which I take to be a fu-
 " rious Incentive to the Imagination, it
 " stimulates like an *Oestrus*, or *Gad-Fly*
 " at home. Therefore I take this Climate
 " to be very favourable to Poetry, and we
 " might lay out all the flowry Roads of
 " *Parnassus* in this Island, which I most
 " humbly recommend as a proper Em-
 " ployment for the wild *Negros*.

" PHILOSOPHY, 'tis true, and other
 " Matters of dry and barren Speculation,
 " would not suit this Air by many de-
 " grees; we could not toil thro' the irk-
 " some Process of a Problem in *Mathe-*
 " *matics*. But what need have we of
 " taking all the tedious Steps of Demon-
 " stration to come at Theorems, when
 " every Proposition we make is a Self-
 " evident Truth at first Sight. We ne-
 " ver should have the Patience to argue in
 " Mood and Figure, or fetter ourselves up
 " to the Form of those methodical Syl-
 " logisms which require a *Major* and a
 " *Minor*;

“ Minor; but we can do better with-
“ out either, by employing an *Enthymeme*.
“ This indeed the Sophists call an imper-
“ fect Syllogism, but very unjustly: For
“ the Logical Definition of an *Enthymeme*
“ is, the Whole of Thinking, or the en-
“ tire Action of the Mind. Now if all
“ this can be included in a single Proposi-
“ tion, does not that imply a greater
“ Perfection, in Ratiocination, Argumen-
“ tation, or Disputation, call it which
“ you will, that School-boys, or School-
“ men value themselves so much upon?
“ We can draw Inferences without the
“ Formality of laying down Premises, or
“ the Ceremony of proving Things by
“ any intermediate Term. Nay, we de-
“ spise all *Mediums* between the Tropicks:
“ We can establish Propositions by direct
“ Assertion, without any Trouble of De-
“ duction or Connection, or the mor-
“ tifying Pains of giving Reasons for what
“ we say.
“ In one word, Things speak and
“ prove themselves here otherwise; I
“ protest

“ protest I don’t know how they would
 “ be proved. And who would talk pro-
 “ blematically, when we can as safely
 “ talk dogmatically? I mean dogmatically
 “ in the good philosophical Sense of the
 “ Word, that is, who would speak with
 “ Diffidence, when (Thanks to the Cli-
 “ mate) he is at Liberty to affirm what he
 “ will positively?

“ I KNOW not a People upon the
 “ whole Round of the Earth, who have
 “ vindicated the original Right of Free-
 “ dom, (*Slaves by Nature* are in course
 “ excepted) or rid themselves from the
 “ cumbersome Shackles of Thinking to
 “ so thorough good Purpose as we. It
 “ is absolute Tyranny and Usurpation to
 “ pretend to establish an arbitrary Art, or
 “ System of Thinking. *Logick* is down-
 “ right Priest-craft, and flourished most
 “ in the Times of Popery¹ and Sla-
 “ very; but *Free-thinking*, (the Mind’s
 “ exalted Privilege) *Religion*, *Politicks*, and
 “ *Literature*, were happily introduced with
 “ the

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 303

“ the glorious Blessings of *Liberty* of Per-
“ son and Property of Goods. However,
“ it is not, nor can be, so fully enjoyed
“ any where as in this most delightful
“ Spot, this Paridise of *America*, or, to
“ speak more fashionably, this *Elysum* of
“ the *New-found World*.

“ HERE the Author breaks off ab-
“ ruptly with saying, That he could pro-
“ duce an unanswerable Reason for what
“ he last asserts; but that the penetrating
“ Reader will guess it, and the candid
“ Reader will excuse him from giving it.
“ By this I concluded, that he had an In-
“ tention to publish this Draught, and
“ therefore communicate it to you, as a
“ proper Subject for the *Jamaica Gazette*.

“ I am,

“ Your most obedient,

“ humble Servant,

“ BRITANNUS.”

IN

IN what Contempt then must such People expect to be held in, when they'll find some of the first Rank and Dignity of *Great Britain* despicable for want of a proper Education, and mannerly Behaviour? When they go to *Great Britain*, (Home as they called it) they are very soon tired of the Place; because they think they have not Respect enough paid them; they cannot play the *Mogul* in a Land of Liberty and Property, where every *Gentleman* is respected as *such*, only from his own Merit and Behaviour; they cannot lord it as they do over their own Plantations, as well over their *white Servants* as their *Negro-slaves*, without Controul: Shew me the *Man*, and I'll shew you the *Law*, notwithstanding some of their principal Men have been *indented Servants* themselves, which verifies the old Proverb, *Set a Beggar on Horseback, and he'll ride to the Devil.*

I HAD drawn those *Characteristicks* of the People of *Jamaica* from the Life, some Years before I had the Experience
of

of having the Observations exemplified on *myself* in the following Particulars.

I HAD an Embroil with one Mr. *Beawes*, in the Service of the honourable *South-Sea* Company, the original Cause whereof the People of *Jamaica* were intirely Strangers to; but, as a great many of them were very deeply concerned with him in a Voyage to *la vera Cruz*, they were all ready and willing to assist him to proceed on that Voyage, which, for Reasons formerly hinted, I would have stopt by a *Ne exeat insulam*, had it not been for the Regard I had for the Interest of the *South-Sea* Company's Service, and Respect for my honourable Masters. I remember, in examining one of his Witnesses, who declared, "That, when such and
" such Circumstances happened, I was
" smoaking a Pipe of Tobacco." At the same Time I solemnly declared, (*Teste DEO*, and all my Acquaintance)
" That I never did smoak a Pipe or *Se-*
" *gar* of Tobacco in the whole Course of
" my Life." Upon which, to invalidate
X my

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my Evidence, they got three Witnesses of
Reputation (Jamaica Currency) to declare,
“ That they had seen me smoak a hun-
dred times ;” and one of them offered
to swear, “ That he had seen me smoak
“ *five Segars* in a Quarter of an Hour.”

AND, though it made nothing at all
to the Purpose, yet it evidently shewed,
what I was to expect from the People of
Jamaica ; *Life* and *Fortune* here hung
entirely upon a precarious Lay !

THE next Attack was more extraordi-
nary (if possible) in one of my trading
Voyages on the *Spanish Coast*. I struck
a Bargain with the principal People of
Porto-bello for 20,000 Pieces of Eight in
Goods ; I wanted some of the Commo-
dities to make up the Assortment agreed
on, so looked out for them amongst the
rest of the trading Vessels ; when it hap-
pened, that one *Moses Mendes*, a *Jew*,
engaged to answer for such and such
Goods, the best of their Kind in Quantity
and Quality, at the Prices agreed on, to
make

make up my Assortment. I went on board of Mendes's Sloop myself to negotiate the Contract, and the Contractors appointed one Compton as Broker on their Behalf: We lay off of the Mouth of the Harbour of *Porto-bello* to deliver the Goods, and receive the Return, one half in *Cash*, the other in *Cacao*. On delivering the Goods, Mendes sent on Shore *Dutch* Bays instead of *English* Bays; Compton, their Broker, immediately challenged the Imposition, and upon Enquiry I found it to be Truth, and a down-right wilful Cheat of Mendes's. So the Bargain was broke off, and the Contractors laid the whole Blame on me, and indeed they had Reason, for they knew nothing of Mendes.

MENDES had received, when the Bargain was broke off, 1625 Pieces of Eight more than there were Goods delivered for: So I was obliged on *Punto*, and indeed in common Justice in merchandizing, to make good this Sum to the Contractors, which I did out of my own *Cash*; and

then sued *Mendes* at the Supreme Court of Judicature in *Jamaica*, where the Lawyers pleaded, "That we must prove
" the Identity of the Goods delivered."

THERE was one Mr. *Lowther*, who made Affidavit, "That he received the
" Goods on Shore, and that the Bays
" were *Dutch Bays*." But, to invalidate my Evidence, they got two Witnesses to swear, "That my Head was in a Water-
" Jar all the time that I was on board
" the Sloop, which was about thirty-six
" Hours:" Whereas there was no Wa-
" ter-Jar on board. But they likewise swore, "That they were obliged to break
" the Water-Jar before they could get my
" Head out of it."

IN short, this was all I got for my 1625 Pieces of Eight, besides Reproach from the *Spaniards*, in endeavouring to deceive them, by not fulfilling my Bargain according to Agreement, to the Disgrace of Traders in general, and the *English* in particular, whose Word in com-
mon

mon Dealings the *Spaniards* will take above all other Nations: For we know by Experience they chuse to deal with the *British*, and will trust to their Samples without opening a Bale, which they will not do with any other Nation. I wish we may not forfeit this our good Character, by means of these rascally Fellows of *Jews*, who trade from *Jamaica* under the Denomination of *Englishmen*: And some *nominal Christians* from *Jamaica* are full as bad as the *Jews*; and indeed it is some Encouragement for them to go on in such villainous Ways, when they can escape Punishment in a Court of Justice, on very gross Impositions on the World in general, and the trading Part in particular. Nay, they even gloried in their Shame, by dividing the Spoil, in the very Face of the World, between *Aaron Dias Fernandes* and Company, *Daniel Mendes de Costa* and Company, and the aforesaid *Moses Mendes*: And, though these Fellows deal very considerably on the Coast, I have seen them so very low and base-spirited, as to steal a Dol-

lar or two from the *Spaniards* in counting their Money, and change one Bale for another; which I have detected, and confronted them in Presence of the *Spaniards*; but they stick at nothing, if they think they can escape Punishment.

I HAVE had innumerable Pieces of grand Larceny committed against me in *Jamaica*, when I was a Trader there, my great Misfortune having been that I lived amongst the *Spaniards*, with whom you may see sixty Millions of Pieces of Eight negociated to and fro, without the Scrape of a Pen, all upon *Punto*. In *Jamaica* it is quite otherwise, for there it is reckoned no Disgrace, or Loss of Credit, to fail in, or fall from your Word, Bill, or Bond.

THERE was one *Curtin*, my Partner *Fennell's* Factor, (called a Merchant in *Jamaica*) who, in my Absence, took up ten Pipes of *Madeira* Wine, consigned to *Houstoun* and *Fennell*, for he stopped my Letters of Advice, so that it was some time

time before I heard of the Wines. When I asked him about them, he denied he knew any Thing of them till I got the Bills of Loading from my Correspondents in *London*; and then I immediately sued him at Law: But, to the Honour of the Court and Jury be it said, he *non-suited* me, though I proved that I had paid for the Wines, and had Credit in my Account current for them from my Correspondents. This stands upon Record as a farther Proof of the Customs of *Jamaica*: The Jury-men were almost all *Irishmen*, as were my Partner *Fennell*, and this *Curtin*. So I had no great Chance there, and never got a Shilling of this Money, whilst they divided the Spoil. This was called, *The Custom of Merchants in Jamaica*; and they called *John Merewether Esq;* a great Merchant, to prove it, who declared in open Court, " That it was the " Custom of Merchants in *Jamaica*;" which, I am sure, would have been found grand Larceny in *Westminster-Hall*.

THERE was one *Yeaman*, a very great

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Merchant amongst them, and who had some dry Goods of mine in his Custody, in my Absence. He sent them out upon the Coast on his own Account and Risk, with a very advantageous Prospect, but the Vessel happened to be lost; so he charged the aforesaid Goods to my Account. Lucky for me! we referred it to *Arbitration* of honest Men,

Rara avis in terris!

and they obliged him to produce his Books, where the Fraud appeared plain; but, had he gone to common Law, he would have gained his *Point*, as he was not obliged to produce his Books, there being Plenty of Witnesses to swear to any Thing.

I BOUGHT thirty Pipes of *Canary* Wine, Prize-goods, which I ordered a Cooper in *Kingston*, one *Lewis*, to fine down, and turn into Ten-gallon Cags for the *Spanish* Coast-trade; and accordingly it was put under his Care in his Store-house for some Months. When I received

received the Wines from him two Thirds of the whole Quantity was gone, (as he said by Leakage) and he charged me over and above 150 odd Pounds for Cooperage and Store-house-room, and swore to his Account; so I was obliged to pay the Whole, and never could get any Redress, for the gross Imposition, at the Court of Judicature.

I COULD give a great many other Instances of such petty-fogging, little, dirty Tricks, greatly beneath and unworthy of the very Name of a *Merchant*: I must own I never had the good Fortune to meet with any one in *Jamaica* worthy of the Name of a *real Merchant*, which, in my Opinion, is the most honourable Title of any in the whole World.

IT was an antient Law amongst the *Saxons*, who settled in *England* as politically as advantageously for the Encouragement of *Arts*, and especially of *Trade* and *Commerce*, "That if a *Merchant* had
" crossed the *wide Sea* three Times, he
" should

" should be honoured with the Title of
 " *Thane*, (*Baron*) and admitted to all the
 " Privileges of that Order." And ever
 " since, by Custom, *Merchants* of a distin-
 guished Character in *Commerce* have been
 honoured with the Title of *Knights*; for,
 when he becomes a Peer of the Land, he
 leaves off Trade; yet King *James II.*
 when Duke of *York*, was the greatest
 Merchant in *England*, and was proud of
 the Title; the Duke of *Chandos* enlisted
 himself a Merchant, and his Majesty of
Great Britain honours the trading Com-
 panies by being their Governor. I have
 had the Honour, which I do reckon a
 very great one to me, to be called a *Mer-*
chant in Bills in Chancery, and other Af-
 fairs in Law. I know nothing that enti-
 tled me to that Honour, more than having
 passed the *wide Seas* oftner than three
 times, and much wider Seas than the
Saxons ever knew of in those Days; and
 I dare venture to say, that I have seen
 more Business in Commerce negotiated in
thirty Days, at the Fair at *Porto-bello*, than

all

all the *Pedlars* in *Jamaica* transact in *thirty Years*, with much more Exactness, and much less Bustle about it. And indeed I do reckon it an Advantage to *Britain*, that in other Countries they have not the Regard and Respect due to *Merchants*; they are scarcely reckoned in the Station of *Gentlemen*; every Thing in common is called Merchant, in *France* the Fellow who fetches the Water for your House is called *Marchand de L'eau*.

WHAT they call *Merchants* in *Jamaica*, I take to be a Burlesque, a synonymous Term for *Pedlars*: Protested Bills and Orders; Bills and Orders accepted, and refused Payment; shuffling off from Day to Day, from Month to Month, even to Years; evading the Execution of the Law by sham Bills of Exceptions, Interest, Trick, Chicane, &c. are common amongst them; even amongst their tip-top of what they call their *Merchants*; the twentieth Part of which Management would sink the Credit immediately, and irretrievably ruin the very
best

best Merchant on the *Exchange* of *London*: Yet they have gone on in this Manner for a Course of Years, without either Shame, or loss of Credit, till the *greater* have eat up, and destroyed the *lesser*; he that gets the most Money is the best Man. It signifies not a Farthing how he has acquired it; his Riches insures him a Protection; and as they encrease in *Riches*, so they do in *Oppression*, and, in Proportion to their Riches, are supported in that *Oppression* by Authority; which I have severely felt to my fatal Experience from one of their *Grandeers*.

I HAD Dealings for a great many Years with one *Manning*, who was a young Man that wrote in Mr. *Pratter's* Compting-house, (Agent for the Honourable *South-sea* Company) his Relation, and he was the only Correspondent that I had in *Jamaica*, during the whole Time I was in the *Spanish West-Indies*, in the Service of the Honourable *South-sea* Company: So there was an Account current betwixt us, for a considerable Value, fourteen Years
standing

standing and upwards. I had pressed him from time to time, I may say, a thousand times, to settle Accounts, which he always shuffled off, and chicaned just like the rest of them; but I was fool enough, at that Time to take him for an honest Man, and my Friend, till he became a *great Man*, and then he discovered himself openly, and absolutely refused to come to any Account at all, positively telling me, he would refer it to no-body, and put me to Defiance.

So the grand Stroke against me, the *Coup de Grace*, was reserved for this Gentleman to put in Execution: An Attempt to assassinate Life, Character, and Fortune at once; for no other Crime, that I know of, than having the Impudence to presume to call to account, and sue a Gentleman of such Importance in *Jamaica*, for what he was justly and fairly indebted; for by this time he was become a very great Man indeed.

MR. *Pratter* died very rich, and this
Manning

Manning was his sole *Jamaica-executor*, and Administrator, *Custos Rotulorum* for *Kingston*, an *Assembly-man*, a *Judge* of the Supreme Court of Judicature, &c. &c. when I attacked him, and got a Verdict for 1600 *l.* Value in Goods, the Delivery and Receipt proved, and never accounted for.

Now he was hooked, and, to contrive how to get his Head out of the Collar was his Business. Accordingly, before Judgment passed on this Verdict for the Plaintiff, Mr. Attorney General, *Penny*, of Counsel for the Defendant, the great *Manning*, moved for a Bill of Exceptions to be entered; either thro' Ignorance or worse, to impose on the Court.

THE Honourable Bench ask'd Mr. Attorney, "What he excepted against in his "Bill of Exceptions? And why he did not "draw it up, a plain Action to account, "one Merchant with another, for Goods "received, and not accounted for?"

MR.

MR. *Attorney* answered, "That he excepted against the whole, all, every Thing," without naming any thing in particular; and accordingly signed in Court, without drawing up any Bill, and without my Counsel's consenting, or signing: Thus he excepted against every thing! *

Ridiculous Nonsense!

A Burlesque on all Law!

More properly a *Bull of Indulgence*, for the Honourable *Edward Manning*, Esq; However, the Bait took, and the Chief Justice was hooked, for he signed also to the *Bill of Exceptions*, tho' not in Court; I verily believe more thro' Ignorance, than any thing worse, for he himself told me afterwards, that he was sensible he had done a wrong Thing, and was sorry for it: But, *Tinker-like*, in mending one Hole, he made two; as will appear by the Consequences: For it appeared to me, that neither the Honourable Bench, nor Bar, seemed to know what a *Bill of Exceptions* was, nor how to draw up one; at least they

* See APPENDIX, Numb. V.

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they did not do it; but only mentioned it by the *Attorney General*, to serve as a Clog to farther Proceedings. Whatever were their Reasons I shall not particularly say, though the Effects proved fatal to me, and I clearly perceived how the *Game* was a going, to clear *Manning* of his Debt was the main Design.

IF a Merchant in *London*, or any where else in *Europe*, was to propose a *Bill of Exceptions* to be made to a plain *Action of Account*, one Merchant with another, his Credit would be intirely ruined, he durst not shew his Face on the *Exchange*, and it would be disgracefully look'd upon by all Merchants as a notorious *Fraud*.

IN the mean time I must acknowledge, that my *Antagonist* gave me fair Warning before-hand: "Go on, said he, with your
" Law-suits: I'll shew you, that I will
" make an Example of you! I don't
" care what Money I spend, so that I can
" expose you at any Rate, or Expence!
" I'll refer it to no-body." This Encounter

counter happened at the *Attorney General's* House ; and I appeal to the *Attorney General's* Honour, if he has the least Spark of it in his whole Body, if these Words, or to this Purpose, were not said in his Presence, which will appear by the Sequel to be Malice propense, and inveterate Revenge.

I own my old Blood was up at him ; (I wish from my Soul that I had taken the shortest Way of the *Dissenters* with him) but *Baldwyn's* Case, before-mentioned, struck into my Mind, and stared me in the Face : Death itself would have been more welcome, than the villainous Treatment I met with ; but I then thought it was impossible to expose me in a Country of Liberty and Property, where Justice at least ought to be equally administered to all free-born Subjects, the poor as well as the rich, in his *Britannick Majesty's* Dominions, under a *British* Constitution and Government.

BUT, alas ! though I was no Stranger

Y

to

to *Jamaica*, and the Customs thereof, I had forgot my old Assertion, *MONEY absolute Lord of Jamaica!* but, conscious of my own Innocence, being guiltless in all respects towards him, fair in all my Proceedings, and just in my Accounts with him, I went boldly on to ask for Justice, when I very soon felt the Effects of his Power and Authority, and his Menaces verified and executed by his fast Friend at Command; the Force of what ought to have damned him.

WITH the Assistance of his Privy-counsellor, and his Attorney's Clerk, they trumped up a Bill of Indictment for *Perjury* against me; the Crime in the whole Catalogue of Sins that I have had the greatest Aversion and Abhorrence to; for, of all Crimes I reckon it the most low-life, scoundrel Villany, even to tell a *Lye*, and to take God *Almighty* to witness it must be infinitely worse; yet this was the Method our *Custos* and his Counsellor took to accomplish their Designs of bringing

regard on saw I though I was no danger this

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 323

this Accusation of *Perjury*, to sink this Debt into my intire Ruin.

A MONSTROUS Piece of Villany! the most shocking, cruel Misfortune that ever happened to me, and impossible to be foreseen; and I am sure the least expected and deserved! for I don't at all doubt for one hundred more, enforced by the Strength of Mr. *Attorney General's* Rhetorick, they would have found the same Bill for *Sodomy*, and brought it within what Statute they pleased.

ALL *Ballad-makers*, have some Device at top, as the Image of a *Man*, or a *Beast*, or whatever else they please; so my Indictment had its Device at top likewise;

HOUSTOUN

adv.

MANNING,

} Declaration.

THE Jurors find the Defendant accountable to the Plaintiff 1600*l.* Value in Goods, with Costs.

III. THEY

Y 2

Judg-

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Judgment, quod computat;
and referred to

Pat. Adam,

Sam. Johnston,

Walrond Fearon.

THESE 1600*l.* were my original Crime, and this Commission from the Supreme Court of Judicature was the *Rock* on which I was to be wrecked: However, I attended this Commission, having drawn up the Proceedings of the Commissioners, and gave them, in Obedience to the honourable Court's Orders, on Affidavit, as follows:

FACTS,

I. The Commissioners, in Obedience to their Commission from the honourable Court of supreme Judicature, met at the House of *Laurence Brodbelt*, Tavern-keeper, in *Kingston*, Dec. 7, 1745, in order to proceed to Business.

II. THEY adjourned to the 10th of the aforesaid Month, at the Request of the Defendant, the honourable *Edward Manning*, Esq;

III. THEY

III. THEY met on the 10th of the afore-said Month, according to Appointment, when they refused the Commission.

IV. THE Attorney's Clerk, (one *Graham*) who said he appeared there on account of the Defendant, told the Commissioners, "That the *chief Justice* had no Power or Authority to grant a Commission returnable in so short a Date as that was.

So help me G O D.

J A. H O U S T O U N.*

THIS Commission was only for *Auditors* of Accounts, to audit all Accounts, Papers, Bills of Loading, Receipts, &c. and to make a proper Report to the honourable Court.

BUT by this time I was sufficiently apprized how Matters were a going, with their different Machinations, and designed Assassinations; for they had got this Attorney's Clerk, whom they made use of

Y 3

as

* See the APPENDIX, Numb. VI. and VII.

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as a proper Tool, to swear to the *Indictment* and other Affidavits, consisting of divers Sheets of Paper, full of flat Contradictions: For he makes Oath, "That he
 "did not say, that the *chief Justice* had
 "no Power or Authority to give a Com-
 "mission returnable in so short a Date as
 "that was:" Yet, at the same Time he
 positively swears, "That he said, the said
 "Commission was irregular, and he would
 "petition the grand Court for a new Com-
 "mission." Whether these are not sy-
 nonymous Terms, expressing the same
 Fact, I leave the whole World to judge?
 Whereas I kept only to Matters of Fact
 in my Affidavit, which were agreed to,
 and granted on all sides, even by *Graham*
 and the Commissioners themselves. They
 insisted on the Facts, yet did not hear the
 very Words; *monstrous Quibble! Facts* I
 expressed and not *Words*. *Graham*, no
 doubt, had his Instructions, and they
 were resolved to shuffle this Commission
 off, and make a Handle of it to my Ruin:
 For this Attorney's Clerk told the Com-
 missioners, "There could be no Business
 "done

“ done at their Meeting, because Mr.
“ *Morse* was not in Town, and Mr. *Manning*
“ *ning* was not ready”. This *Morse* was a
petty-fogging, tricking Attorney himself,
now turned Counsellor at Law, and Pri-
vy-counsellor to the great Mr. *Manning*;
and *Graham* was his Clerk.

THESE, with Mr. *Attorney General*,
and the *Custos* behind the Scene, were the
Dramatis Personæ of the Conspiracy, and
they were positively resolved to annul this
Commission at all Hazards ; for whenever
they found the *Chief Justice* was resolved
to support his own Commission, signed in
Court with the Consent and Advice of the
then Assistant Judges, he was contemptu-
ously turned out of his Office, with his
Commission along with him, and one of
his Assistants had been turned out before-
hand ; a *stubborn Stick!* and most of the
the rest of them, if I remember right,
laid down their Commissions, rather than
chuse to be rode by an *Attorney*, to make
room for others more pliable to their Pur-
poses. And they issued out another

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Commission of their own forming, as much a Commission for a Captain of Dragoons, as to audit and report Accounts, because it was the same as to leave it to them, whether my Horse is yours or mine.

IT was Mr. Attorney General's Pleasure ; on which depended the Lives and Fortunes of his *Britannick* Majesty's Subjects in *Jamaica*, just as they fell under his periodical Fits or lucid Intervals.

I HOPE his Honour, the *Chief Justice*, will do me the Justice to acknowledge, that I prognosticated his Fate ! One Day, when I was complaining of my hard Fate, and Injustice done me by Mr. *Manning's* oppressive Power, he told me with some Indignation, " That he would see Justice
 " done me against the greatest Man in
 " *Jamaica*." I answered submissively,
 " That, if they thought you would, or
 " could do me Justice, against the great
 " *Manning*, you would not be long *Chief*
 " *Justice*." I wish he had been as able,
 as

as I really believe he was willing to do me Justice, at least to save me from such tyrannic Oppression: But I must own he was as fit to be a Cardinal as a Chief Justice. It is true, that it was *Hobson's* Choice, for his Predecessor, the only Person in *Jamaica* that I had the Honour of knowing equal to such a great and weighty Office, would serve no longer, for Reasons best known to himself; (perhaps he knew too much for them, but this Charge is left for himself to answer) and his Successor knew less Law than he, but a better-natured Man, and more pliable to their Purposes.

BUT if this *Commission* was legal and returnable in the limited Time, as signed by the Chief Justice with the unanimous Consent of the Assistant Judges in Court, why did they not proceed upon it? No: They must have a new Commission of their own forming, modelled, no doubt, to the Pleasure of the great Man, Defendant: So these Commissioners made their Return accordingly, as I was informed; for I never saw it, nor went near

near them again, for fear of a new Indictment for *Sodomy*, or any other Crime they pleased to devise; but I was told their Return was,

Nothing due by the Defendant to the Plaintiff;

expressly contrary to the Verdict of the Jury, as aforesaid. They should now have called again for old *Merewether*, (*Manning's* Partner) to prove, *That this was likewise the Custom of Merchants in Jamaica*: But alas! he was dead; yet, it seems, he has left some of his Customs in Legacy to his Partner.

Was ever such a bare-faced Imposition heard of in a free trading Country? Goods delivered and received, but no Account given thereof, nor any Thing made due upon that Account: So I am to be dragooned out of my Property by *Major Vis*, in a Country where Liberty and Property are said to reside under his *Britannick* Majesty, by the Sanction of Law. Can Judges give a Commission to any Per-

son or Persons, to take away, or keep my Property, without giving any Account at all of it? That celebrated Author, the Right Honourable Mr. *Secretary* ADDISON, says, "When *Judges* are capable
" of being influenced by any Thing but
" Law, or a Cause may be recommended
" by any Thing that is foreign to its own
" Merits, we may venture to pronounce,
" that such a Nation is hastening to its
" own Ruin."

ALL that I have got for my Money at present is an Entry in my Journal.

To Profit and Loss.

Robbed by the dishonourable E. M. Esq; and his Accessories, P. A. S. J. and W. F. of Goods delivered to the Value of 1600 £.

Witnesses to the Robbery twelve Jurymen, good and true, upon an Appeal to his *Britannick* Majesty in Council, *Jamaica*, 1746.

So I was robbed by the *Custos*, and came upon the County, who made up a Purse.

Purse, as they called it, for me ; which I thankfully accepted, and make this publick and grateful Acknowledgment for the Favour to the Community in general, and particularly to the Collectors *George Galbraith* and *Thomas Bontein*, Esquires, Aids de Camp to the honourable Brigadier General *Price*, Prime Minister of State, first of the *Wittena-Gemot*, Brother *Custos*, and *Judge*, with the great *Manning*, and indeed was a *greater Man*, if possible, than this great *Manning* himself, but stood more in need of a *Ready-penny*, who supplied them both with Furniture for their upper Chambers, at an advanced *Price*. From this Quarter, I imagine, the Favour came, otherwise, I do suppose, none else durst presume to shew me the least Favour or Countenance, under the Penalty of their Displeasure. But how trifling soever it may seem to be, it was of ten times more Service to me than the Value, at a Time when, out of 2200 *l.* justly and fairly owing to me in that Island upon Record, I could not raise 22 Pence to save my Soul and Body from perishing for Want ; nay, even

even the Chancellor's final Decree and Order in my Favour was evaded, baffled, and refused: In short, all Writs in my Favour were of no Effect, and those against me took Place, and were enforced: Our *Custos* and his Counsellor pushed their Resentment to such a Height, and drove Affairs to that Extremity, to persecute me at any Rate, that I was daily expecting to have my Life sworn away by false Witnesses: And though I don't suspect the *Custos* to be capable of such gross Villany, yet I am well assured his Counsellor is capable of being guilty of any Roguery, even of the blackest Dye, that his Invention can contrive or reach: And Passions, seduced by evil Counsel, may blindly give way to Resentment against those who have it in their Power to destroy themselves: For he well knew that it was in my Power to hang him for a Traitor to his King and Country, if I would turn *Informer*, which I would not do for his Estate, nor the whole Island of *Jamaica*.*

FOR

* See APPENDIX, Numb. II.

F O R no Treatment, how bad soever it may be, shall ever provoke me to do, what in my own Way of thinking is not strictly consistent with what I call *Honour* and *Honesty*: I dare not do it for my own Sake, without any Regard to others: I own that I have done several Things in the Course of my Life inconsistent with my own Way of thinking, but it was *Necessity*, not I; which I hope shall be rectified in the remaining Part of my Time.

B U T even all this did not satisfy them, they were resolved to assassinate Life, Character, and Fortune at once; and go on with the Prosecution for *Perjury* against me; and I was resolved to stand it at all Hazards, being conscious of my own Innocence, that I might find an Opportunity of exculpating myself, which, I flatter myself, will appear to the whole World to be a false and malicious Prosecution; and, after the Custom of the *Holy* (I mean *villainous*) *Tribunal of Inquisition*, I was absolutely denied a Copy of my Indict-

ment,

ment, or a Sight of the Depositions against me; so I could not tell, or so much as guess, what I might be indicted for; it might have been for *Sodomy*, as well as *Perjury*, for I am sure I was as much guilty of the one as of the other. The Attorney's Clerk, who swore thro' thick and thin for all, offered for 50*l.* not to prosecute at all. I told him, with great Scorn and Indignation, that I would not give him fifty Pence; and that he must be a very great Villain to make the Offer: I depended intirely, and I thought safely, on my own Innocence, and a *British* Constitution; but I had forgot where I was.

WHEN the Chief Justice was giving the Charge to the Jury he said, "Tho' he was of Opinion, that the Facts related, and agreed on by all Parties, were synonymous Terms, in different Words, and could not amount to the Charge;" yet three of the Judges declared their Opinion, *Guilty*; which over-awed the Jury, and over-ruled an *Arrest of Judgment*.

THUS

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THUS I fell a *Sacrifice*! "Now, say
 "They, the Judges are all very honest
 "Men, tho' they were not bred up to
 "the Law:" Ay, to be sure, they are
 all honest Men; so is Judge *Manning*
 too!

*Es Hombre de Bien pero no paresce mi
 Capa.*

WHAT Satisfaction is it to me, whe-
 ther I suffer thro' *Roguery* or *Ignorance*, if
 I do suffer unjustly and wrongfully? And
 it is certain, that I have suffered for a
 Crime, which, as must evidently appear
 to the whole World, I was not guilty of;
 and I have felt, to my fatal Experience,
 that I have been sacrificed as a *Burnt-of-*
fering to 'Squire *Manning* and his Coun-
 sellor's Threats and Resentment: For an
Affidavit to a Matter of Fact, which
 stands upon Record to be so, must be so,
 and cannot possibly be otherwise, as clear
 as any Demonstration in *Euclid*.

IF I was reduced to an absolute Ne-
 cessity, under an absolute Government,
 to

to submit, I should rather chuse to subject myself to a *Rogue* of Sense, than a *Fool* at any rate:—But both is the *Devil*!

N o w, methinks, I hear an old *Druid*, sitting at a Corner, say, *They* say—and *They* do so and so;—Who are *They*?—
— *Mine A-r-e in a B-and B-x*. What! more *Wheels* within *Wheels*? But let the *Druid* go on to teach and preach in his own *Way*, without controul.

Qui docet Indoctos, licet Indoctissimus esset, Ipse brevi reliquis doctior esse queat.

I HAVE known the Foreman of a *Jamaica* Jury, and a *Grandee* too, subscribe his Name to a Bill of Indictment before the Grand Jury * *, * *, * *, * *, * * *cum Sotius*, englishted, *Come Sots*.

I H A D no Objection, it was rather my Desire, to find the Bill, in the Grand Jury against me, *Billa vera*, that I might find an Opportunity of exculpating myself from any Guilt of the Accusation, which must then have retorted on the *Accusers*.

ENT

Z

BUT

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BUT my Foreman of the petty Jury was a Man of more Learning, and could read, and spell his Name, *Cum Sociis*; tho' he was only a poor *Irish* Hackney-coach-man, who let out Hackney-coaches and Horses by the Day, or a longer Time, as agreed on, and always secured his *Hire* before-hand, and the highest Bidder was sure to ride the *Horse*; so I had no Chance for the *Horse*, I must be *jockey'd*.

MR. *Attorney General* insisted only on that Point in my *Affidavit*, "That *Graham*, the *Attorney's Clerk*, told the *Commissioners*, That the *chief Justice* had no Power or Authority, to give a *Commission* returnable in so short a Date as that was."

WHEN the said *Graham* swore again it was only to a Negative, That he said no such thing. At the same time he confesses, "That he said, The *Commission* was irregular, and he would petition the grand Court for a new one."

THE

THE Commissioners likewise said, *They did not bear these Words* : But all agreed to the Facts, the Commission was irregular, in the Return at so short a Date, and they must have a new one. My *Affidavit* is only to Facts, which are unalterable.

HORRIBLE Quibbles, and Contradictions, for a Man's Life, Character and Fortune to depend on!

WHEN my Counsel was pleading, "That my *Affidavit* was only relative to Facts, and not to Words." (For who can express Facts in the very same identical Words? Tho' the Facts were agreed on by all Parties and Sides to be the same in *synonymous Terms* :) Mr. Foreman with his Sots, (as I was informed, for I was not allowed to be present) said, "That none of them understood what *synonymous* was, or meant;" but they had found the Bill, and the Bench over-ruled an Arrest of Judgment; so that I was denied an Opportunity of clearing myself: And the Evidence, on which the Bill was founded,

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can be demonstrated and proved false and malicious, as clear as any Demonstration in *Euclid*; and the Accusation groundless and false.

THUS was I cowardly stabbed, barbarously murdered, and cruelly butchered; and at present am, with the Bleeding of my fresh Wounds, at the Point of Death; though in some small Hopes of a *Resurrection*. The Ancients died, rose again in this Life, and fought Battles! Why may I not rise again?

*Some, raised aloft, come tumbling down
again;*

*And fall so hard, they bound and rise
again!*

DURING the whole Time of my Interdictment, Indictment and Confinement, about six Months Time, they had a large Field and full Scope to ruin me intirely, to sink my Credit irretrievably, to embezzle my Effects, (and other People's Goods in my Hands to a very considerable Value) and even to deny me Subsistence-
Money

Money from my own Cash in their Hands; and they not only attempted to assassinate Life, Character, and Fortune Abroad, but to murder my Character and Credit at Home; after the Custom of the *French* Robbers, *murder first, and rob afterwards!* to accomplish the grand Design of clearing Mr. Manning's Debt, which they did effectually, and sunk as much more into it!

BUT if I should chance to survive it in Life, I do flatter myself that I shall be able to vindicate my Character to the World with Honour and Integrity, nor do I desire Life upon any other Conditions, and make it ignominiously retort upon themselves with double Force, which shall be enjoined and enforced in my Last Will and Testament, to prosecute to the very last the *Murderers*.

AND, during the remaining Time I was obliged to linger in *Jamaica*, I took upon me the Vows of an *Hermit*, and strictly kept up to the Rules of the Order; for

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indeed it was no Punishment to me, to be banished from Company in *Jamaica*, because conversing with the Inhabitants always gave me more Pain than Pleasure, and indeed the whole Island was a *Goal* to me ; for here I can truly say,

Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus.

And, after the first severe Pangs and Shocks of the Surprize on my Commitment were over, being intirely conscious of my own Innocence, I carried a sound Breast, a serene and calm Mind, with the greatest Patience and Resignation during the whole Time of my unjust Sufferings, which under my Confinement were at first very barbarous, rather worse than those in the *Inquisition*, except Tortures; (for, had I not been rescued by some of the Prisoners, they had murdered me directly, which can be sufficiently testified by those very People who rescued me) which broke the best Constitution that perhaps was ever carried about in so many different Countries in the *Torrid Zone*, for almost thirty Years, without the least Ailment.

THE

THE greatest Discontent or Anxiety, that I suffered in my own Mind, was being shunned and deserted by my former *Friends*, who acknowledged their being convinced of my Innocence of the Crime I was accused of; yet, thro' Fear and Dread of the *Great*, who generally hang together in a String like *wild Geese*, and to attack one is to attack all: For thus was I left destitute of Friends to struggle with my Misfortunes, to extricate myself in the best manner I was able; for it was reckoned High Treason to entertain me in their Houses, or shew me any Countenance or Friendship; and my Enemies embraced this Opportunity to appear with Malice and unjust Reproaches, to ingratiate themselves with my Antagonist, and follow the *Run*.

I WAS to be chastized and humbled at any rate; *Down with him* was the Word; *We'll humble him*: And my Friends wanted Resolution enough to stop the Current, which might have been easily done at first.

THIS is what they call *bunting* a Man down in *London*, and Men of much more Honour and Integrity than I pretend to, even the very best of Men, have been *bunted down* to serve vile, mercenary Designs; but in the whole World, among the most despotic, barbarous Countries, there's not to be found an Instance of such unjust, cruel, arbitrary Proceedings, (the *Inquisition* excepted) executed by the pretended Sanction of the *Laws* of a *free* Country.

THE *Scots* abroad are very remarkable, for standing by their Country-men; tho' I must own, I never was a very great Favourite amongst them at *Jamaica*; I always was of a different Kidney from them, and used to tell them roundly of their Mistakes, which made them more easily give way to the Current against me; for most of all the *Scots* that I knew in *Jamaica* were *Jacobites*, which made the People of *Jamaica* run away with a mistaken Notion, that all the *Scots* are inclinable that Way, whereas nothing can

be

be more false; for the knowing and trading Part of *Scotland*, where I was born and bred up at School, have very just and true Notions of the Good and Interest of their Country, and so fixt in their Principles, that I dare venture to say, for thirty Miles round, there could not be thirty *Jacobites* found. It is only the *Scum* of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of desperate Fortunes, of no Estates at all; and the Dregs of the Commonality, as idle as ignorant, who engage in that Cause; with the *Highland Clans*, who carry along with them a Parcel of ignorant, uncivilized People, their Vassals, who know no other Reason than blind *passive Obedience*, and *Non-resistance* to the Will of their Superiours and Masters; whom I used to compare to a *Jamaica* Planter, driving his *Negro-slaves* along with him; as evidently appeared by those engaged in that very *unnatural Rebellion* in the Year 1745, of all those engaged scarce one of them worth hanging, except the *Highland Chiefs*, who ought to be extirpated from all Society.

DURING

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DURING my most *oppressive* Distresses I met one whom I can call a *fast Friend*, and, had his Abilities been equal to his Inclinations, I had been enabled to surmount all my Distresses, and overcome my Enemies. And, what was very remarkable, I brought that very Person into the World, by delivering his Mother of him, when in hard Labour; so that, by saving his Life, I saved my own: *Remarkable Providence!*

AND in this Solitude I found a very agreeable Companion, though of an *African* Breed, a *Creol* of *Jamaica*, of *Negro* Parents, educated in *England*; for he had a superior Genius, a more liberal Education, and a better Understanding to improve it; which entitled him to keep better Company, Men of Letters in *England*, than any of the *Creols* that ever I had the Honour of knowing in *Jamaica*, which evidently demonstrates, that it is not Colour, but *Genius* and *Education* that makes the *Man*.

NOTHING perhaps is more beautiful in the moral World, than that *Compassion* which universally prevails in every honest Heart, when they see the Innocent and Helpless struggling under unmerited Misfortunes, and borne down, by the Current of Power, under a Load of *Oppression*, and to feel that Indignation rise which never fails to inspire the *Virtuous* with Courage and Resolution to oppose *Oppression*, and bring the Authors of it to Reason and Justice by condign Punishment; and, *vice versa*, when it appears contrary, nothing can be more ugly and diabolical,

I REMEMBER, when I lived at *Cartagena* in the *West-Indies*, I was credibly informed; that one of the best and honestest Men, and most substantial Merchants there, had the Misfortune to be taken up by the *Inquisition*; all his Friends shunned and deserted him in this Distress, (for they durst not do otherwise) and, after twenty Years Imprisonment, with all his Effects embezzled, he was cleared and declared innocent, and, by Order of the *holy Inquisitors*, in token of his Innocence,

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cence, he was allowed the Honour of riding all over the Town on a *white Horse*, as a sufficient Satisfaction for all his Sufferings in Person and Estate.

I EXPECTED and accordingly found a *white Horse* waiting for me at the Court-house Door, on the appointed Day, but they made me pay 10 l. Horse-hire, and then bid me ride when, and where I pleased; which shall be as soon as I am able to ride at all, to His *Britannick* Majesty in Council, for Redress of Grievances, as a free-born Subject of *Great Britain*, to plead for the Liberties and Properties of a *British* Subject; for, by the Laws of Nature and Nations, and the Laws of my Country under a *British* Constitution, I am fully entitled to appeal on this *Assassination Plot* to the King, for an Attempt on the Life of a Subject; to the *legislative Power*, for Violation and Breach of the National Laws and Constitution; and to the *Commons*, for a Violation and Loss of the Liberty and Property of a Fellow Subject of *Great Britain*; For it is the
joint

joint Concern of the whole united Legislative Power of *Great Britain*.

IN short, I would much rather have chosen a Throw at Dice for Life and Fortune, than have submitted to the Courts of Judicature in *Jamaica* for it; and, if against one of their *great Men*, there's no more Chance than a *Mouse* has with a *Cat*.

“ WHEN such sacred Things as the
“ *Laws* are not only touched, but guided
“ by profane or ignorant Hands, Men
“ will fear, that out of the *Tree* of the
“ Law, from whence we expect Shade
“ and Shelter, such Workmen will make
“ *Cudgels* to beat us, or rather, that they
“ will turn the *Cannon* upon our Pro-
“ perties, that are entrusted with them
“ for their Defence.”

Lord HALLIFAX.

THOUGH my Body was confined, it was impossible for them to confine the Mind, and this Confinement gave me full Time and Opportunity of finishing my *Memoirs of Jamaica*, which otherwise might

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might have lain dormant for ever through my Indolence : So I shall now give a few more strong Examples amongst Hundreds that I could call to mind : One very strong of the *Grand Seigneur* himself of the Country of *Jamaica*, who governed and swayed the whole Country round him with a tyrannick Power, at the same time he was a good-natur'd Man enough, and very hospitable to all those who would submit implicitly and cringe submissively to his Will and Pleasure : But, *Creol-like*, he would bear no Controul or Contradiction ; for he would put his Fellow Creatures upon the Footing of his *Slaves*, and always chastised them, when provoked, with a cruel Hand ; nay, to such a Degree did he once carry it, that one of his indented Servants, a *British* Subject and a *white* Man, happened to die under the Severity of his Chastisement.

ON this, about five or six more of his indented Servants, being greatly moved and irritated at such barbarous Usage, left the Plantation, and run to Town to lodge a Complaint with the King's *Attorney-General* ;

General; the Evidence was strong, and concurred in all the material Circumstances, so as to amount to an *Indictment for Murder*; and the Attorney-General indicted him accordingly, and it was believed impartially: But the *absolute Lord of Jamaica* (I don't mean the *King*, nor the *Governor*) interposed, and, by the never-failing *Argumentum ad Hominem*, managed by a clever Fellow for Foreman, (whom they took out of Goal for that very Purpose, who knew all the *Game*, and perfectly well how to make the most of it) the *Jurors* had their Eye-sight rubbed up, and saw very clearly, that the Bill greatly surpassed their Understanding, so brought it in *Ignoramus*. But the then Attorney-General, depending on his Knowledge of the *Law*, imputed it to the Ignorance, to say no worse, of the *Jurors*, and not to the Want of Strength in the *Law*; and therefore was of Opinion, that a fresh *Indictment* ought to be brought.

HOWEVER, for this Opinion, Mr. Attorney-General was suspended from his Office;

Office; and another put in his Room, who was as clear in this, as well as in all other difficult Cases, as the Sun at Noon-day in *Jamaica*, who continued afterwards the *Cicero* of the Island; and I must own, that, in his lucid Intervals, he was a very clever Fellow, and rightly calculated for *that Meridian*; but often put me in mind of the *Wapping-Attorneys* pleading before the *Justices* of the Peace at *Mile end*, who, generally speaking, are *East-India* and other *Sea Captains*, who, having got Money enough to leave off the Sea, only want the Honour on Shore of becoming *Justices of the Peace*. Mr. Attorney appears before their *Worships* with his Client's Case; and says, "I tell you, " Sir this is Law, an't please your Worship; " and the *English* Laws are like the Laws " of the *Medes* and *Persians*, unalterable! " And your Worship cannot go from the " Law, without running yourself into a " *Præmunire*; and remember I tell your " Worship so?"—"No, No, Mr. At- " torney, (says his Worship) I won't run " myself into a *Præmunire*; I'll go by " the

"the Law; it must be so as you say, it
"is plain."

SOME Time after there was an *Over-
seer* of a Plantation, who happened to
differ with one of the indented Servants,
a *white* Man, and gave him two or three
Licks with an Horse-whip, for which the
Fellow was resolved to be up with him.
Accordingly, not long after the *Overseer*
was indicted for killing five *Negroes*, in
five different Indictments, by whipping
them to Death, and this Fellow was the
only Witness to swear to the five separate
Indictments.

MR. *Attorney-General* was very clear
in this Case: So the Man was found
guilty of murdering them all, and con-
demned to die, and it was expected that
the Man would have hung for it, (for he
was *poor*) had not he made his Escape be-
fore the Day of Execution.

THERE were two of his Majesty's able
Sailors indicted for committing a Rape

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on an abandoned, profligate, common Whore, Hundreds having lain with her publicly in the Streets, as was proved in open Court; yet Mr. *Attorney-General* was clear in this Case, he saw into the bottom of it at once; so the poor Fellows were condemned to die: But *His Excellency* had Goodness enough to pardon them.

THERE must be something in the Climate, as I have observed in *Africa*, that changes the natural Disposition of Mankind from Humanity into Barbarity, or Custom is a second Nature; for I never saw human Nature divested of Humanity, and Brutality and Barbarity introduced by Custom and Habitude, except in the *Torrid Zone*. I could even instance *Ladies* there (the fair and soft Sex) who have gone very great Lengths in punishing their Slaves; particularly one, who has stood over the *Negroes* to see them punished in a most cruel Manner, even to the last Extremity of seeing them burnt alive to Death, and gloried in the Sight.

EVERY

EVERY Person, rich or poor, who is divested of Humanity, whose Nature is changed, by Custom or otherwise, into Barbarity, Brutality and Cruelty, ought to be hanged without Mercy, as the greatest Nufance to Society.

COLONEL *Charteris*, who was the greatest Villain perhaps of his Age, (except *Jack Shepard*, who was more dextrous) and deserved, though he escaped the Gallows innumerable times: But poor *Jack* was hanged at once, whilst the Colonel was condemned at last of a Crime, the World must believe he was not guilty of, for the Sake of what had so often saved him.

THIS is the practical Part, corresponding to the *Characteristics* of the People of *Jamaica*, which I have drawn, and related without any Malice, or any interested Views, against them: Yet I cannot say, by the Depravity of human Nature, that it is possible for me to divest myself intirely of all Prejudices, after

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so many unjust Sufferings amongst them :
And though I have kept strictly to Mat-
ters of Fact, yet I do own, that it is a very
hard Task, for an injured Person to give
an Account of the Injuries done him,
without mixing the Ink with a little of the
Tincture of Gall.

BUT, to leave this disagreeable Subject
the following is an authentick Letter from
my Correspondent at *Cape-Breton*.

“ To Dr. HOUSTOUN in *Jamaica*.

Louisbourg, Nov, 20. 1745.

“ S I R,

“ THE many Obligations I lie un-
“ der to you, for your Care of me,
“ in the Hospital at *Chelsea*, to rear up a
“ Constitution, broke and almost worn
“ out upon so many unsuccessful Expe-
“ ditions, make me embrace this Oppor-
“ tunity to acquaint you of the agreeable
“ News, that I have fallen at last upon a
“ very successful one, against the *French*
“ Settlements on *Cape-Breton*, in Compa-

“ ny

"ny with the *New-England* Land Forces;
"and I shall give you a succinct and ex-
"act an Account of it, in as few Words
"as possibly I can.
"We set out from *Boston*, *March* 24,
"1745, being of the *Massachusetts-Bay*
"Forces, to the Number of 3250 Men,
"exclusive of Officers; we arrived at
"Conso the 4th of *April*, where we
"found the *New-Hampshire* Forces, being
"304 inclusive of Officers, and were
"joined the 25th of the same Month by
"the *Connecticut* Forces, being 516 Men
"including Officers, in all 4070: With
"these stout, hearty Fellows, and honest
"brave Officers, we all set out, unani-
"mous in our Inclinations and Resolu-
"tions, to conquer, or to die under the
"Command of a Gentleman, as honestly
"brave, as courageously successful, *Wil-*
"liam Pepperell Esq; Lieutenant General
"and Commander in Chief of the *New-*
"England Forces, and we succeeded ac-
"cordingly:

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" I SHALL not presume to trouble
 " you, with a Journal of all the Proceed-
 " ings from our first Landing at *Chapeau-*
 " *rouge* Bay, but only take notice of the
 " most remarkable Passages. *April 29th*
 " and *30th*, and on the *1st* of *May*, all
 " the Forces were landed, and began to get
 " Provisions and Stores on Shore: The
 " Landing of the heavy Artillery, Ammu-
 " nition, Provisions, &c. was attended with
 " extreme Difficulty and Fatigue; there
 " being no Harbour there, and the Surf
 " almost continually running very high,
 " so that some Days there was no landing
 " any thing at all, and often the Men
 " were obliged to wade high into the
 " Water, to save what was damageable
 " from being wet; and the poor Men
 " had no Cloaths to shift themselves, or
 " defend them from the Rigour of the
 " Weather, the Nights being very cold;
 " but *Resolution* in brave Men will over-
 " come all Difficulties.

" IT is incredible to think through what
 " almost unsurmountable Difficulties from
 " time

“ time to time we raised our different
“ Batteries, and mounted our heavy Ar-
“ tillery; particularly on the 25th of
“ *May*, the thirteen Inch Mortar bursted,
“ and a Bombardier was thereby wounded,
“ occasioned by some Flaw in the Shell,
“ which broke in the Mortar; but ano-
“ ther thirteen Inch Mortar from *Boston*
“ was mounted in the same Place, and
“ play'd the eighth Day after the other
“ was burst.

“ THE conveying the Cannon was
“ with incredible Labour and Fatigue,
“ for all the Roads, over which they
“ were drawn, were either very rough,
“ rocky, hilly Way, or a deep Morass;
“ into which, whilst the Cannon were
“ upon the Wheels, they several times
“ sunk, so as to bury not only the Car-
“ riages, but the whole Body of the Can-
“ non likewise; Horses and Oxen could
“ not be employed in this Service; but
“ the whole was to be done by the *Men*
“ *themselves*, up to the Knees in Mud;
“ at the same time the Nights, in which

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“ the Work was done were cold, and for
“ the most part foggy; their Tents also
“ were bad, as there were no proper Mate-
“ rials for Tents in *New England*, when
“ the Forces were raised.

“ BUT, notwithstanding all these Dif-
“ ficulties, and the People's being taken
“ down by *Fluxes*, so that at one time
“ there were no less than fifteen hundred
“ Men incapable of doing Duty, occa-
“ sioned by their Fatigue, they went on
“ chearfully, without being discouraged
“ or murmuring; and by the Help of
“ Sledges of about sixteen Feet in length,
“ five Feet in width, and twelve Inches
“ thick, they transported the Cannon over
“ those Ways, to the Amazement of the
“ *French*, who always thought them
“ intirely impassable for such heavy
“ Boilies; as indeed they were by
“ any People of less Resolution and Per-
“ severance, or less Experience in remo-
“ ving such heavy Weights: And besides
“ this they had all the Provisions, Powder,
“ Shot, and Shells, which they daily made
“ use

" use of, to convey over the same Ways
" upon their Backs.

" I DON'T pretend, Sir, to give you
" an Account of erecting all our Batta-
" ries, and removing from time to time
" to different ones, during the Siege, all
" which was performed with good Con-
" duct, and intrepid Courage.

" To see the Bravery and Resolution of
" these Men, when rightly command-
" ed, raised in me some melancholy
" Thoughts, in reflecting on our by-past
" unsuccessful Expeditions. What a Fi-
" gure would the little Fort of *San Laza-*
" *ro*, near *Cartagena*, have made before
" them, who battered down the well-
" fortified Town and strong Forts of
" *Louisbourg*! which the *French* took to
" be impregnable. You may remember I
" was upon that *Cartagena* Expedition,
" tho' I was not upon the Attack of *San*
" *Lazaro*, where we had an Army of re-
" gular Forces, double, nay, I may say,
" near triple the Number of ours here.

" THE

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" THE Plan of Operations for this
 " Expedition was regularly well concerted
 " between his Excellency *W. Shirley*, Esq;
 " Governor of *New-England*, our Gene-
 " ral, and *Peter Warren*, Esq; Commo-
 " dore of all his *Britannick* Majesty's
 " Ships and Vessels on this Expedition,
 " &c. and most gloriously executed by the
 " Undertakers: For Commodore *Warren*
 " arrived at *Canso*, *April* the 23d, in his
 " Majesty's Ship the *Superbe* of 60 Guns,
 " with three forty Gun Ships, the *Eltbam*,
 " *Launceston* and *Mermaid*, &c. under
 " his Command, and, after having con-
 " ferred with the General by Letters, went
 " immediately with the Ships to cruize off
 " *Louisbourg*, who, with great Care and
 " Diligence, cut off all Communication
 " with the *French*, and took several
 " Prizes that were coming with Relief for
 " the Besieged: And, on the 21st of *May*,
 " he took the *Vigilant*, a *French* Man of
 " War of 64 Guns; on the 25th he was
 " joined by the *Princess Mary* of 60
 " Guns; the 26th by the *Hector* of 40
 " Guns; on the 10th of *June* by the
 " *Chester*,

“ *Chester*, arrived from *England*, on the
“ 12th the *Canterbury* and *Sunderland*
“ joined him, as did likewise the *Lark*
“ with a *Store-ship* under her Convoy,
“ for *Anapolis Royal*: So now, our Com-
“ modore having under his Command a
“ strong Squadron, it was determined to
“ make a general *Attack* by Sea and
“ Land.

“ So to work we went, to erect our
“ last and most useful Battery near the
“ *Light-house*, just opposite and within
“ three thousand four hundred Feet of
“ the * *Island Battery*, on which we
“ had made several unsuccessful Attempts,
“ being always beat back with Loss. It
“ was a great Nuisance to us, and of the
“ greatest Consequence to be Masters of
“ it, which, notwithstanding the almost
“ insuperable Difficulties that attended it,
“ was happily effected; for by the 14th
“ we

* This *Island Battery* was a strong Fort at the Entrance of the Harbour, mounted with thirty twenty-eight Pounders, and seven Swivels, having two Brass ten Inch Mortars, and garrisoned with an hundred and eighty Men.

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“ we had six eighteen Pounders mounted,
 “ sustained by 320 Men, which did the
 “ Business effectually.

“ ON the 15th the large Mortar was
 “ ordered to this Battery, and, a new Sup-
 “ ply of Powder arriving, the Fire was
 “ more fierce than ever, when the Mor-
 “ tar began to play from this *Light-house*
 “ Battery upon the *Island Battery*; out
 “ of 19 Shells, 17 fell within the Fort, and
 “ one of them upon the Magazine, which
 “ together with the Fire from the Cannon,
 “ to which the Enemy was very much
 “ exposed, they having but little to shel-
 “ ter them from the Shot, that ranged
 “ quite through their Barracks, so terrified
 “ them, that many of them left the Fort,
 “ and ran into the Water for Refuge:
 “ In short, the *West Gate* was demolished,
 “ and a large Breach was made in the
 “ Wall adjoining; the *West Flank* of the
 “ *King's Bastion* was almost ruined; all
 “ the Houses and other Buildings almost
 “ torn to Pieces, (but one House in the
 “ Town being left unhurt) and the Ene-
 “ my's

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 365

“ my's Stock of Ammunition growing
“ short, they sent out a Flag of Truce to
“ the Camp, desiring Time to consider
“ upon the Articles of Capitulation.

“ THIS was granted till next Morn-
“ ing; when they brought out Articles,
“ which were refused, and others sent in
“ by the General and Commodore, which
“ were agreed to by the Enemy.

“ HOSTAGES were exchanged on the
“ 17th of June, 1745, the City and For-
“ tresses of *Louisbourg* were surrendered,
“ and the Garrison with all the Inhabi-
“ tants, to the Number of 2000 capable
“ of bearing Arms, made Prisoners, to be
“ transported to *France* with all their per-
“ sonal Effects.

“ DURING the whole Siege we had
“ no more than 10 Men killed by the
“ Enemy, and all other Accidents, and
“ about 30 died of Sicknes; bnt, accord-
“ ing to the best Accounts, there were
“ killed of the Enemy within the Walls
“ about 300, besides Numbers that died
“ by

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“ by being confined within the *Gaz-*
“ *ettes*.

“ A M O S T glorious Action ! greatly
“ surpassing the martial Atchievements of
“ the great General *Wentworth*, and all
“ his regular Forces ! What is it that
“ *Britons* cannot do, when they are una-
“ nimous ? Nothing can withstand them,
“ when rightly conducted.

“ H E R E was great Unanimity, and a
“ perfect Harmony betwixt the two com-
“ manding Officers in chief, by Land and
“ Sea ; and indeed there was a perfect
“ Agreement between all the Officers,
“ and even amongst the common Soldiers.
“ Upon this Expedition every Man fought
“ with his Wife, Family, &c. at Stake,
“ and Success brought him a comfortable
“ Living for himself and Family to all
“ Posterity, as his own Property ; where-
“ as a mercenary Soldier, who fights for
“ *Six-pence* a Day, and a little Plunder,
“ under Awe and Dread of military Disci-
“ pline

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“ pline only, has Misery entailed on him-
“ self and Family for Life.

“ I SHALL not take up your Time in
“ giving you a Description of the Island,
“ which you may find elsewhere, but
“ only tell you, that it is excessively cold
“ at present, the Island being small and
“ surrounded with Ice; but we have a
“ Remedy at hand, Plenty of good Coal,
“ upon the Sides of the Mountains, very
“ near the Surface of the Earth, and great
“ Plenty of all Sorts of Wood for only
“ cutting down; particularly fine old Oak,
“ enough for the whole Navy of Great
“ Britain, and Pines large enough for the
“ Masts of first Rate Men of War.

“ I T is true we have some marshy
“ Ground, and the Woods are not
“ as yet cut down; but I dare venture to
“ say, by draining the Marshes, which
“ may be easily done, and clearing the
“ Ground of the Under-wood, the Place
“ would be as healthy as any other Part
“ of America: In short, Sir, I like it
“ so

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“ so well, that here I design to reside
 “ with my Family for my Life-time, and
 “ put them in a very good Way of pro-
 “ viding for themselves.

“ We have had some Surmises here
 “ in our Chit-chat Conversation, as if
 “ the King and Parliament designed to
 “ give it up a second time to the *French*,
 “ at the Conclusion of a Peace; but the
 “ more thinking Part assure themselves,
 “ that that cannot be: In as much as his
 “ most gracious *Majesty*, with Consent of
 “ his *Parliament*, when he issued out his
 “ *Royal Proclamation*, given at his Court
 “ at *St. James's* the ninth Day of *April*,
 “ 1740, and confirmed by an Act of
 “ Parliament passed that Sessions, entitled,
 “ *An Act for the more effectual securing*
 “ *and encouraging the Trade of his Ma-*
 “ *jesty's British Subjects to America,** and
 “ for the Encouragement of Seamen to
 “ enter into his Majesty's Service; for
 “ raising Forces, for conquering and sub-
 “ duing this, and all other Settlements
 “ from

* See the said *Proclamation* and *Act of Parliament*.

“ from the Enemy; his Majesty has been
“ graciously pleased to give us his Royal
“ Word, with parliamentary Security,
“ That whatever we conquered from the
“ Enemy should become our own Pro-
“ perty; with due Acknowledgment
“ and Subjection to his *Britannick* Ma-
“ jesty and the constitutional Laws of our
“ Mother-Country, *Great Britain*, as ex-
“ pressed in the aforefaid Proclamation
“ and Act of Parliament: So that what
“ we have conquered here, or elsewhere
“ from the Enemy, at the Risk of our
“ own Lives and Fortunes, and are now
“ in Possession of, under the Sanction of
“ this Proclamation and Act of Parlia-
“ ment, we reckon as much our own
“ Property as a *Shilling* that we earn for
“ a Day's hard Labour; and we take our
“ Security for this Property to be the ve-
“ ry best in the whole World, the Con-
“ stitution of *Great Britain* never to be
“ unhinged.

“ Now, Sir, I conclude by sending
“ you enclosed an exact Account and
B b “ Com-

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" Computation of the *French Fishery*, as
 " it was carried on before the War, on
 " the Banks of *Newfoundland*, *Cape-Bre-*
 " *ton*, &c. the *Whole* depending on the
 " Port of *Louisbourg*, as a Cover and Pro-
 " tection to it, &c. with the Advantages
 " accruing to *France* from it before the
 " War, and Disadvantages by the Loss
 " of it, with the vast Advantages and
 " Importance to *Great Britain*, by con-
 " quering and keeping Possession of this
 " important Place, as it was given in to
 " General *Pepperell* on the Spot, by such
 " of ourselves, who, at *Canso* and *Louis-*
 " *bourg*, have been Eye-witnesses of it,
 " and from their Captains, &c. of their
 " Ships, at different occasional Conversa-
 " tions, on comparing the *French Fishery*
 " with the *English*; and transmitted by
 " the General to *Great Britain*, for the
 " Consideration of his Majesty in Council,
 " and our *British* Parliament, as follows,

" FROM the Gut of *Canso* down along
 " Shore to *Louisbourg*, and from thence
 " to the North-East Part of *Cape-Breton*,
 " there was yearly employed at least 500
 " Shal-

"Shallops. And these required, at Sea
"and on Shore, 5 Men each; which
"amount to 2500 Men. And 60 Bri-
"gantines, Schooners and Sloops, each of
"15 Men; making 900 Men more:
"Which together make 3400 Men.

"ALLOW these 500 Shallops to catch 300
"Quintals of Fish each in the Summer-
"Season; and the Whole is 150,000
"Quintals: And the 60 Brigs, Schooners,
" &c. each 600 Quintals, which make
"36,000 more. So that there is made at
"Cape-Breton annually of Fish 186,000
"Quintals.

"Now, to carry this Fish to Europe,
"to Market, there must be employed
"93 Sail of Ships of the Burthen of 2000
"Quintals each, one with the other, and
"each of these Ships have at least 20 Men,
"which are 1860 Seamen. And these,
"added to the 3400 Fishermen above,
"make 5260 Men employed at Cape-
"Breton only in the FISHERY.

"AT Gaspay, Quadre, and other Har-
"bours

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" bours, mentioned in the following Esti-
 " mation, there are six Ships yearly,
 " which, as they come out from France
 " mann'd to catch their own Cargoes in
 " Shallops, they haul up and leave in
 " the Country every Winter, till they
 " return the next Spring, one with ano-
 " ther may be allowed 60 Hands. And
 " it has always been allowed, from St.
 " Maloes and Granville they have at least
 " 300 Sail of these Ships in this Fishery,
 " that fish at *Petit Nord, Fishante, Belle-*
 " *Isle*, and the *Gulph*; which will, all
 " computed as above, (allowing those
 " Ships, that so come out to make their
 " own Voyages, to carry each 3000
 " Quintals) be as follows:—

	Ships.	Men.	Quintals.
" At Cape-Breton	93	5260	189,000
" At Gaspay	6	360	18,000
" At Quadre	6	360	18,000
" At Port en Basque	6	360	18,000
" At Le Foils Isles	3	180	9,000
" St. Malos Men	300	18,000	900,000
	414	24,520	1152,000
			HERE

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“ HERE it may be objected, that of
“ the 300 Ships above from *St. Ma-*
“ *los* (which they insist upon) some of
“ them are of those Ships above-rec-
“ koned at *Gaspay, Quadre, &c.* which
“ is well known to be so. But, then, no
“ regard is here had to the Ships so em-
“ ploy'd, among the rest, from *St. Juan*
“ *de Luz, Bayonne, Nantz, Havre de*
“ *Grace, &c.* which go annually into
“ those Parts on the same Voyage; and
“ are a great many more in Number than
“ those 21 Ships above; and would,
“ could an exact List be had, much
“ swell the Account.

“ BESIDES all these, there have been
“ constantly from the River *Sendre, Olune,*
“ *Poitoux, Havre, &c.* 150 Ships at least,
“ the *French* say 200 Sail, employed in
“ the *Mud-Fishery*, or *Mort Vest* (as they
“ call it) from 16 to 24 Men each: Which
“ carry home, upon an Average, from
“ 22,000 to 30,000 Fish in Number;
“ which make, on the most moderate
“ Estimate, 150 Sail of Ships; And, on a

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“ Medium, at 20 Men each, employ
“ 3000 Men, and in the Whole 3,900,000
“ Fishes in Tale. These Ships are
“ fitted out in *France* for their Voyages
“ on the *Banks*, and there tarry till they
“ are laden; unless they meet with any
“ Disturbance (in which Case they resort
“ to *Cape-Breton* for Shelter and Supplies
“ and from thence home to *France*.
“ And it was thus frequent for them,
“ when they had made their Voyages,
“ to go into *Cape-Breton* for Water especially,
“ as they had no other Port.

“ IN regard to the Value of this Branch
“ of Trade, it is necessary here to observe,
“ that there is hereby produced a large
“ Quantity of *Train Oil*; which *France*
“ has always an immediate Demand for at
“ Home, for their Woollen Manufactures,
“ Lights, &c. And with which also their
“ Sugar Colonies, that can't do without it,
“ are yearly supplied. It is certainly well
“ known, that they either do, or may at
“ least, make one Hoghead of sixty Gallons
“ of Oil, clear drawn off from the
“ Blubber,

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“ Blubber, out of every hundred Quintals
 “ of Fish. And this, out of the Quantity
 “ of Fish before mentioned, will produce
 “ 11,490 Hogheads of Oil. And, allow-
 “ ing that 4000 Fishes in Number are
 “ equal to 100 Quintals when cured, then
 “ the 3,900,000 Mud-fish, by the same
 “ Rule, will yield 975 Hogheads of Oil;
 “ which added to the other make 12,465
 “ Hogheads of Train-oil, which are equal
 “ to 3116 Tons and a Quarter.

“ Now, let the 1,149,000	} l. s.
“ Quintals of Fish be va-	
“ lued only at 10s. Sterling	
“ per Quintal, the prime	
“ Cost usually at New-	
“ foundland, and it is worth,	574,500 : 00

“ AND, to this, allow 3s.	} 172,350 : 00
“ Sterling Freight per Quin-	
“ tal of it, in English Bot-	
“ toms, to Market	

“ And then the Fish only	} 746,850 : 00
“ is worth	

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l. d.
 " Brought over 746,850 : 00
 " AND let the 3116 & qr.
 " Tons of Oil be valued at } 56,092 : 10
 " 181 Sterling *per* Ton, the
 " the Amount of it is

" As to the Mud-fish, it
 " is generally sold in *France*
 " at 1000 Livres *per* 1000 } 178,750 : 00
 " Fish; and then, at 11d.
 " Sterling *per* Livre, their
 " Value is

" AND thus it appears,
 " that One Year's Fishery } 981,692 : 10
 " of the *French* only! is
 " worth, Sterling,

" WHICH great Branch of Trade in a
 " manner depends entirely on their Pos-
 " session of the Island of *Cape-Breton*, as
 " it is impossible to carry it on without
 " some convenient Harbour of Strength,
 " &c. to supply, support and protect it:
 " And it is now with us to determine,
 " whether they shall enjoy it or not?"

" IN

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“ IN Addition to this, let us consider,
“ that, in regard to the *Woollen Manu-*
“ *facture*, the Staple and Dependance of
“ *England*; in which also the *French*
“ have been vying with us, and have now
“ brought that *Trade* to such a Pitch as
“ to carry it all over not only their own
“ Dominions, (formerly obliged to us for
“ fine Cloaths) but to a great Advantage
“ into *Italy, Spain, and Turkey*, even to
“ the great Detriment of *England*.—I
“ say, in regard to this Branch of Trade,
“ allow that every Man before-mentioned
“ in the Fishery, in his Blanket, Watch-
“ coat, and Rug, Pea-jacket, &c. con-
“ sumes of these coarser Woollens 30 s.
“ Sterling *per Annum*, at that Rate even
“ *their* Consumption will be 41,250 l.
“ Sterling; which, had we the whole
“ Fishery to ourselves, must of course be
“ of our own Manufacture.

“ BUT besides this, all due Consi-
“ deration must be had to the Canvass,
“ Cordage, Hooks, Lines, Twine, Nets,
“ Lead, Nails, Spikes, Edge-tools, Grap-
“ lings,

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“ lings, Anchors, &c. &c. that 564 Ships,
 “ and the *Shallops* to fish for them, must
 “ expend at Sea and on Shore : And al-
 “ low all these to be *British*, and the
 “ immediate Value of this Branch of
 “ Trade to *England*, could she (or rather
 “ ~~would she~~) keep it to herself, will disco-
 “ ver itself of greater Consequence than
 “ any other ; not even excepting the To-
 “ BACCO ; that is, than any other Trade
 “ dependent on the Plantations. *First*,
 “ in regard to the raising Seamen for the
 “ Royal Navy : *Secondly*, the Consump-
 “ tion of the *British* Manufacture and
 “ Produce : And, *above all*, in a certain
 “ yearly Remittance of the Ballance of
 “ this Trade made to *England* from
 “ *Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c.* either in
 “ Specie, or in such foreign Commodities
 “ as pay his Majesty a prodigious Reve-
 “ nue ; and this procured by Dint of La-
 “ bour only, and fetched out of the
 “ Abundance of our Seas.

“ Thus, supposing the *French* entirely
 “ excluded this Fishery, (as may and must
 “ be

“ be the Case if *England* keeps *Cape-Bre-*
“ *ton*, and allows them no Privilege at
“ *Newfoundland*; — for then they will
“ not have any Port convenient for them
“ at least till they fortify upon the Main;
“ in the Gulph of *St. Laurence*, — which;
“ having *Cape Breton*, we may hinder
“ when we please. And adding the Ad-
“ vantage of this Fishery to that of our
“ own already, and considering, that the
“ whole Papal Empire must then depend
“ on us solely for this *Bacalões*, which
“ they can’t do without, which will give
“ us almost the whole Trade of the *Me-*
“ *diterranean*, and all the other national
“ Advantages that must arise from this
“ Consequence; and the present Acqui-
“ sition of *Cape-Breton*, unpeopling the
“ *French* Colony there, and reducing the
“ Garrisons to his MAJESTY’S Obedi-
“ ence, which must give us all the rest,
“ is of itself a sufficient COMPENSATION
“ FOR THE WAR; and will be so al-
“ lowed by all those concerned in Trade,
“ that know the many Advantages and
“ Benefits that must arise from this Branch
“ of

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“ of it only to *England*, by monopolizing
 “ the Whole of it.*

“ BUT besides the national Advantage
 “ by the Fishery;— by the Reduction
 “ of *Cape-Breton*, and an *English* Gar-
 “ rison there, *France* has not any one
 “ Sea-port for the Relief of their trading
 “ Ships, either to or from the *East* or
 “ *West-Indies*, open to them any where
 “ in *North America*, to the Northward
 “ of the River of *Mississippi* : For *Canada*
 “ is not to be looked upon as an open
 “ Port to the Sea; it being first sixty
 “ or seventy Leagues within Land,
 “ through the *Gulph*, to the Mouth of
 “ the River; and then a great deal fur-
 “ ther up the River. So that it is im-
 “ practicable to think of going thither for
 “ Shelter : And of Consequence the
 “ whole Trade to and from the *West-In-*
 “ dies, &c. will be not only exposed to
 “ our Privateers from the Northern Co-
 “ lonies in *War-time*, without any Place

“ to

* More valuable than the Possession of the Mines of *Mexico* and *Peru*.

“ to retreat to, but even in *Peace*, with-
“ out any Sea-port they can call their
“ own, or lay any Pretensions *now* to do,
“ in these Seas, any where to the North-
“ ward of *Mississippi*, as above said.

“ AND as to *Canada* itself,—the *River*
“ is *now* so much under our Command,
“ as well as the *Gulph*, that all Trade
“ *there* may be very easily stopped, and
“ all Communication cut off from them
“ by our Ships in and out of *Cape Breton*.
“ So that (without Force or Arms) in a
“ very few Years that Colony would fall,
“ and the whole Trade of Furs, carried
“ on with the *Indians* there, come into
“ the *English* Hands, as *Canada* may be
“ unable to supply or furnish them. But
“ a happier Consequence than this will
“ be, that as they may be kept from sup-
“ plying the *Indians* to trade, so also to
“ encourage them from annoying our
“ Frontiers: And they (the *Indians*) even
“ *must* become obliged to, and dependent
“ upon, *Us*; so that we shall not be in
“ such continual Apprehensions of their
“ Ho-

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“ Hostilities, but rather may have them
 “ in as much Subjection to Us, as they have
 “ been to the French.

“ To all that is said before in regard
 “ to Cape-Breton, let it be added, that by
 “ this Acquisition we have secured to the
 “ Nation the Garrison of Annapolis
 “ Royal, and the Colony of Nova Sco-
 “ tia, which being a very rich and fer-
 “ tile Soil, and its Coasts and Rivers a-
 “ bounding with Fish, and settled by
 “ French Catholics, that Nation has
 “ much regretted the Loss of, and wanted
 “ to recover. Yea, and which they en-
 “ deavoured to retake, by laying Siege to
 “ Annapolis, both the last Year, 1744,
 “ and this present Year; and would have
 “ got it, had it not been for our Expe-
 “ dition to Cape-Breton, which caused
 “ them to raise their Siege and withdraw.
 “ And, by our HOLDING Cape-Breton,
 “ we shall keep those French Inhabitants
 “ at Acadia in strict Allegiance to His
 “ MAJESTY, or else oblige them to
 “ quit their Possessions; which are all
 “ Farms,

“ Farms, brought to and fit for any Ser-
“ vice immediately; which will be an
“ Encouragement to our own Subjects
“ to go and settle there; and also oblige
“ the *Cape-Sable Indians*, our Enemies,
“ either to abandon that Shore, and fly
“ to *Canada* for such Shelter and Supply
“ as they can spare them. And by that
“ Means we shall get rid of that Tribe
“ at least, if not, by the same Means
“ those also of the *St. John's Tribe*,
“ which have been always troublesome to
“ us; as both these Tribes have had their
“ Dependance entirely on *Cape-Bretan* and
“ the *French Acadia*; the latter of which (as
“ Neuters) have been supplied and used as
“ Subjects both by the *English* and *French*.
“ Which we have long enough lamented
“ the bad Consequence of, and which now
“ is stopt; so that they must either depend
“ entirely upon us, and become good Sub-
“ jects with us, or else on the *French*.
“ And if the latter, they must of course
“ retreat to *Canada*, (where they will help
“ distress, rather than relieve, that Colony)
“ and leave us *Nova Scotia* disencumbered
“ both of themselves and Salvages.

“ HAD

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" HAD we not taken *Cape Breton* this
 " Year, and the *French* had taken *Anna-*
 " *polis*, (which it's not disputed they
 " would have done, had we been idle)
 " the Consequence then would have been,
 " —All the Inhabitants of *Nova Scotia*
 " would have declared for the *French*
 " King immediately, and the Colony at
 " once been establish'd to him; and all
 " the *Cape-Sable* and *St. John's Indians*,
 " who assisted at the Siege of *Annapolis*
 " with those of *Canada*, would have been
 " well supplied with Arms, Ammunition,
 " &c. and set loose upon our Frontiers;
 " and their Success would have so dispirited
 " even those other Tribes, that pretend to
 " be at Peace with us, that they must have
 " joined with them; and they together
 " would have carried Havock, Devasta-
 " tion and Ravage, all over our Frontiers;
 " their Men of War and Privateers, by
 " Sea, would have destroyed our Sea-
 " ports, and kept us in continual Alarms,
 " without having it in our Power to hin-
 " der them from carrying their Conquests
 " from *Annapolis*, along our Eastern
 " Shore

" Shore, even to *Cape-Ann*, were they
" so inclined.

" THE quiet Possession of all which
" for the future in great Measure de-
" pends immediately on this Acquisition
" and Keeping of *Cape-Breton*, if not for-
" tified Ourselves at least from the
" *French*."*

Now it only remains incumbent upon
me, as the *Publisher*, that I should give
some Account of *myself*, and how I came
by these *Memoirs*.

It is enough for the World to know,
that I am the Son of the famous *Isaac*
Bickerstaff, Esq; and I hope they'll have
some Regard for me on my Father's Ac-
count; so I address *myself* solely to the
Author, if alive, or, if dead, to his *Piis*
Manibus. I have picked up, Sir, these
your Memoirs, from a great Heap of loose
C c Papers,

* And whoever so much as thinks of giving it up
a second time, his Name and Memory will stink to all
Eternity.

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Papers, all wrote with your own Hand, to which I have made no Additions or Alterations, only collected and connected, I will not say digested, what I met with in your *Manuscripts*. I have had little or no Regard to Symmetry in Time, what I wanted was *good Sense* more than *Chronology*; so the *Facts* are related, in regard only to the Time of your own Life as they happened, and, I am sure, that I have had more Trouble in collecting and connecting than you had in remarking them, which you did only for your own Pleasure and Satisfaction; so I shall make no farther Apology for publishing them to the World; which is divided into three *Tribes*, under whose Cognizance an *Author* stands or falls, *viz.*

The *Frowns* or *Favour* of the *Great*;

The *Applause* or *Censure* of the *Criticks*;

or, how the *People in general* stand affected. The only *Apology* that I have to make is to *yourself*, for throwing these loose, crude, and indigested *Conceptions* (as you are pleased to call them) naked as they

they are into the World, without your Leave.

Now, Sir, as to the first Class, I have a Lord, and a great Lord too, who has promised me to accept of a *Dedication*, which would have served more properly for a *Prologue* than *Epilogue*; but I am so fond of it *myself*, that I cannot forbear giving it you; and here it goes.

My LORD,

IF I was to describe the many political Transactions, as well in ecclesiastical as civil Affairs, of your Great Forefathers; the great and glorious martial *Atchievements* of your noble Ancestors; and the Source of your most noble Family, they must swell into a Volume as big as *Baker's Chronicles*; but transcendent above all your *Ancestors* is your *Lordship's* great personal Honour, profound Learning, and inexpressible Merit, so very conspicuous and extensive, that no Language, even the most copious in the World, can find Words to express your Lordship's real

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Honour and Merit. — Wherefore —
I must be silent. So you see, we shall
escape, and save *Ourselves* on this Side.

If the *Criticks* begin to snarl, I'll leave
them to you, and (if you are alive) per-
haps we may reap the Benefit of it, by
your answering them; for *when Thieves
and Rogues fall out, honest Men come to
their own.*

As for the third Class, they are quite
out of our *Sphere*, beneath our Notice,
for it is only shooting a Parcel of Small-
shot amongst the *Multitude*, and they'll
disperse immediately, and run away to
leave you on the Field of Battle: In like
manner as you have pleased yourself in
writing these *Memoirs*, why should I not
take the same Liberty in pleasing myself
by publishing them?

FOR whatever Displeasure I may incur
from you, I shall make no other Apology
than to tell the World, that I have been
intimately acquainted with you, ever since
you

you have had the least Remembrance of yourself, fifty Years and upwards, and I have *Vanity* enough to think, that I know you, *intus & in cute*, as well, if not better than you do yourself. I am sure, had I met with these *Memoirs* in the barbarous, rude, or most civilized, polite Countries, I should have known the *Man*, without having one Letter of his Name mentioned; and he must be a very complete *Linner* indeed, who can draw his own Picture to an exact Likeness, when he can only fit to it by *Reflexion*, as in a Looking-glass: But it is a greater and much more difficult Task, though infinitely more useful to Mankind, to delineate *Human Nature* and *Human Art*, in such Lights and Colours as Mankind may be able to read, and see *themselves* so clearly as to discover the innumerable *Snares* that are laid for them, as well by the Passions and Foibles of *human Nature*, as those laid for them by *human Art*; so as to endeavour, to the utmost of their Power and Ability, to avoid splitting on the *Rock* in the Course of human Life.

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I HAVE often heard you say, That the *Mind* is formed by *Genius* and *Education*.

GENIUS, at its first Formation, depends chiefly on the Quantity, Quality, and Circulation of the *animal Spirits*, when there's no wrong Organization of the Solids; and by its second Formation, *Education*, which is only a due Cultivation of that *Genius*, whilst it is in its infant State, capable of being moulded, and turned into an infinite Number of different Shapes: So you call *Genius*, *human Nature*, the Work of the *Almighty Author* of Nature; and *Education*, *human Art*, the Work of *Man*: These two, you say, form the *Mind*; and you are of Opinion, that the *Diseases of the Mind* may be as rationally accounted for, from these known Causes, as the *Diseases of the Body* can be accounted for, from the Quantity, Quality, and Circulation of the Blood in the animal Oeconomy; for that the *animal Spirits* are sooner affected, and more sensibly altered by Change of Air, Diet,

Diet, &c. at least more visibly altered, than the Blood, from which they are secreted; and I have remarked, in your *Observations on the Coast of Guinea*, published in the Year 1725, wherein you say, Page 38, that,

“ You most heartily regretted the Loss
“ of a *Camelion*, which you kept alive for
“ some Months, which afforded you Mat-
“ ter of Speculation in your melancholy
“ Hours, by evidently demonstrating to
“ you, the *Sympathy* betwixt the Soul and
“ the Body; for according to the different
“ Passions you raised in the Mind, the
“ Body changed immediately into different
“ Colours: When it was perfectly pleased,
“ it was of a beautiful light Green, and
“ the whole Body, Tail and all, appeared
“ transparent; when displeased, or very
“ angry, of a dark, cloudy Colour, and
“ the Body and Tail perfectly opaque;
“ and, according to the intermediate Pas-
“ sions, from the one extreme to the
“ other, so were the intermediate Colours
“ formed beautiful to Admiration.

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THIS Animal afforded Subject-matter for sublime Speculation, and ocular Demonstration, to shew the *natural Sympathy* betwixt *Soul* and *Body*.

AND I have likewise frequently heard you say, that you could rationally and mechanically account for the Variety and Diversity of Tempers and Humours of the Mind, with their different Distempers even unto Death, by what you call *Morbus Animæ*, and particularly account for the Diversity of your own Temper, and Variety of Humour, (and I am sure none ever had a greater) from the above-mentioned natural Causes, and their Effects: At the same time I must do you the Justice to acknowledge, that I always found the *fundamental Maxims* in your Way of thinking uniform, and unalterably the same.

You have likewise been pleased to tell us, that, from the long Experience and Practice you have had, in so many different Countries in the *Torrid Zone*, you have

have known more People die of Diseases of the *Mind*, which you call the *Soul*, than of Diseases of the *Body*. It's certain, there's a natural, certain, and constant *Sympathy* betwixt the *Soul* and the *Body*, and, when the Source and original Cause of the Disease proceeds from the *Mind*, the *Body* is likewise affected, and suffers of course, as symptomatical Effects only; and, *vice versa*, from the *Body* to the *Soul*, even unto Death.

NOW suppose I should ask you, How the *Soul* actuates upon the *Body* to produce this *Sympathy*? Why! the Question is as absurd, as to ask the Cause that produces *centripetal Motion*, or *magnetic Attraction*, of which we have ocular Demonstration, the Cause occult, as yet only known to the *Almighty Author* of Nature.

BY your loose Papers, amongst your medicinal Observations, I find that you frequently make use of the following Expression, in a great many different Cases.

THE

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THE Source and original Cause of this Disease proceeds entirely from the *Mind*, and those are only symptomatical Effects, which appear and affect the Body.

Dato morbo invenire remedium :

And then follows the Ratio and practical Observation ; and there's particularly one Scrap of Paper, which to me looks like the *Title-page* of a Treatise of this Nature, giving an Account of the various Diseases of the *Mind*, with their Causes, Symptoms, and Effects on the *human Body*.

Morbi Animæ, tam è Nervorum fluidis ab excessû Spirituum animalium, circulationis nimicæ, eorumque defectû circulationis parvæ, quam è Nervorum solidis, Fibræ rigidæ & tensæ, laxæ & debilis : & De Morbis inde oriundis.

BUT, to understand *human Nature* thoroughly requires great Study and Application, as well as great Penetration and Sagacity.

AND

AND to understand *human Art*, so as to be able to trace it thro' all its Turnings and Windings, into an infinite Number of different Shapes, requires a great deal more Knowledge, than the mere Study of the animal Oeconomy and Literature, and to be learnt only from a clear Understanding, sound Judgment, and Observations in the Course of *human Life*.

WHEN *Genius* exerts itself without the least *Education*, you call it the *primitive State of Nature*; for there can be no *Education* without *Genius*, but there may be *Genius* without *Education*; and then you call in the great *Sir Isaac Newton* to your Assistance.

“ADJICERE jam liceret” (says the great and immortal *Sir Isaac Newton* in his *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, at the Conclusion of that inimitable Work) “nonnulla de spiri-
“tu quodam subtilissimo corpora craf-
“sa pervadente, et in iisdem latente; cu-
“jus vi et actionibus particulæ corporum
“ad

“ ad minimas distantias se mutuo attra-
 “ hunt, et contiguæ factæ coherent ; et cor-
 “ pora Electrica agunt ad distantias majores,
 “ tam repellendo quam attrahendo
 “ corpuscula vicina, et Lux emittitur, re-
 “ flectitur, refringitur, inflectitur, et cor-
 “ pora calefacit ; et sensatio omnis excitatur,
 “ et membra animalium ad voluntatem moventur,
 “ vibrationibus scilicet hujus Spiritûs per solida nervorum capillamenta,
 “ ab externis sensuum organis ad cerebrum et a cerebro in musculos propagatis :
 “ (And that incomparable Gentleman concludes) “ Sed hæc paucis exponi non
 “ possunt ; neque adest sufficiens copia
 “ Experimentorum, quibus leges actionum
 “ hujus Spiritûs accurate determinari et
 “ demonstrari debent.”

WHAT Pity it is, that this *great Man*
 did not apply himself to the Study of *Medicine*,
 and the *animal Oeconomy* ; for from him we
 should have learnt more of the Laws of Nature,
 reduced to a regular Mathematical System,
 according to this *Specimen* he has left us, than from all the
 World

World beside, till there rises up a *second Newton*, to apply himself to this Study : At least we should have had no Occasion for your *Essay on Genius and Education*.

THE indefatigable and learned Dr. *Boerhaave*, (that *Helluo Librorum*) has gone some length this Way ; but I am sorry that he broke off so abruptly, I fancy through Sickness or Death : And what loose Thoughts I have got of yours, amongst your *Memoirs*, on this Subject, I vow and protest, if you don't overcome that damned Indolence, (your old Companion, only when Necessity or some whimsical Humour rouses you, and obliges you to shake her off for a Time), and make what Haste you can to digest them into some Method, and nothing but Death shall excuse you, I'll send them the same Way with your *Memoirs*, stark naked as they are at present, into the World, to shift for themselves, *Scots* like ; which perhaps may incite some more able and willing Hand to say something to the Purpose on that glorious Subject. For my own Part,

Part, I must acknowledge, that I have pickt up, even from those loose, indigested Scraps of yours, some Knowledge, and Observations on *human Nature*, that may prove very useful and advantageous in the Course and Conduct of human Life, which I was an entire Stranger to, before I had the Hints from you; but, as I am no competent Judge in these Affairs, I shall only say, that a Treatise on this Subject, from an able Hand, would be of great Benefit to Mankind, and greatly contribute to the Support of Society.

So, pray Sir, do you think that you could know your own abortive Conceptions, if you were to see them again? Well! it is your own *Brat*, your very Likeness: Tho' I took it up a *Foundling*, I'll nurse it a little for old Acquaintance sake, and, as soon as it can walk alone, I'll send it abroad to shift for itself, like its *Papa*. I have likewise got your *Creed*, *last Will and Testament*, *Epitaph*, &c. I would have you keep the *Creed*, for

of his Own LIFE-TIME. 399

for your own private Use, till you find it of more Benefit and Service for the Publick than those they have got already; and, as for your *Last Will and Testament*, I would likewise advise you to keep that too, till you get some *Mexican Dollars*, to answer the Disposition and good Intention of the *Will*, for the World seems not inclined at present to take your Word for it; in mean time I'll give them your Epitaph *gratis*, to be inscrib'd on your Tomb-stone.

ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ.

Deum pius adoravi, Qui est:

Intelligere de Deo unice volui id,

Quod Deus de se intelligit:

Eo contentus ultra nihil requisivi

ne Idololatriâ errare.

Ens Entium!

Miserere Mei!

IN fine, the Inference, which I can draw from the Whole, is, that the only great and difficult *Task*, in the Course of human Life, is, to know yourself, this *Nosce Te-ipsum* is the grand Secret of Life; for

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for the whole Course of Life is only one continual Struggle between our *Reason* and our *Passions*, which shall get the better; the *Passions* are so strong, the Understanding so weak, and the Course of Life so very short, that we cannot possibly arrive to that Perfection only comparatively, some nearer than others; but, if you *know yourself*, all other Knowledge comes in course by Application, and consequently you'll very soon discover, that

*The World's a Bubble, and all Things shew it;
I thought so once, at last I knew it.*

You have had this thought of Mr. Gay; you have altered the Words, but the *Reason* continues strong for it; as you have divided the World into

BUBBLERS and BUBBLEES,

Hic aut Hæc.

HOMO:

So I conclude your *Memoirs*, at present with these Sentiments of that polite Writer, my Lord Shaftesbury, in the first Volume of his *Characteristicks*.

“THE

THE only Method which can justly
qualify us, for this high Privilege of
“ giving *Advice*, is in the first Place to
“ receive it ourselves, with due Sub-
“ mission, where the Publick has vouch-
“ safed to give it us by Authority; and
“ if, in our private Capacity, we can have
“ Resolution enough to criticise ourselves,
“ and call in question our high Imagina-
“ tions, florid Desires, and specious Sen-
“ timents, according to the Manner of So-
“ liloquy above prescribed, we shall, by
“ the natural Course of Things, as we
“ grow wiser, prove less conceited, and
“ introduce into our Character, that Mo-
“ desty, Condescension, and just Huma-
“ nity, which is essential to the Suc-
“ cess of all friendly Counsel and Ad-
“ monition; an honest, home Philoso-
“ phy must teach us the wholesome
“ Practice within ourselves; polite Read-
“ ing and Converse with Mankind of
“ the better Sort will qualify us for what
“ remains.”

APPENDIX

D d

Errors

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*Errors, expected and excepted by the
Author, to be corrected and amended by
the Publisher,*

JACOB BICKERSTAFF.



APPENDIX.

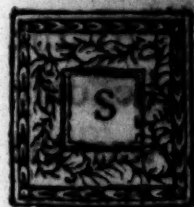


APPENDIX.

NUMB. I. Page 19.

*Extract of a Letter, from Jamaica, to his
Friend, a Member of Parliament, in
London.*

SIR,



SINCE my last, of *March* the
6th, 1742, by his Majesty's
Ship *Prince Frederick*, pro-
gnosticating the Fate of this last
Expedition to *Panama*, just such another
scandalous one as the *Cuba* Expedition, in
July, 1741, which I hope, for saving the
Honour of our Country, will be sink in
Oblivion, so as never to enter into the An-
nals of *British* History.

I now begin to reckon myself a sort
of a Prophet, and have good Authority

D d 2

for

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for my Prophecy ; for the *Bible* says, (and who does not believe the *Bible* ?) *A House divided against itself cannot stand*. I shall at present only assure you, without entering into Particulars, that the whole *Farce* is shamefully at an End in this Part of the World ; and, whatever is doing, or may be done in *Europe*, I know not, I cannot help saying, that it has made a most scandalous Exit here, having only settled a little, shitten, uninhabited Island, off the Bay of *Honduras*, called *Rattan* ; an Enterprize infinitely more ridiculous, than *Sancho's* Island of *Barataria*. At the same time, I must own, that the only Thing, I most heartily regret, was the Dishonour accruing to the *British* Nation, from so many unsuccessful Attempts, entirely owing to their own bad Conduct, and not want of Bravery in the Men ; incredible ! tho' certain ! whether from mere Ignorance, or some Design, greatly surpasses my Understanding to fathom ; therefore leave it to Time to discover : For I am of Sir *Andrew Freeport's* Opinion, That it is stupid and barbarous to extend

Dominion

Dominion by Arms, especially in a trading Country, when true Power is only to be got by encouraging *Trade, Arts and Industry*.

Great Britain wants no Castles but floating ones: Tho' I must acknowledge, when they took the Castles in the Harbour of *Cartagena*, had they garrison'd them with 800 or 1000 Men, which they could then have easily spared, and kept two *Line-of-battle* Ships always in the Harbour, reliev'd from time to time, with proper Provisions, &c. for the Garrison, from *Jamaica*; (which was a sufficient Force for any Attack the *Spaniards* could have rais'd against them at that time) by these Means they would have had an entire Command of the Towns of *Cartagena* and *Porto-bello*; and consequently of all the Trade of those inland Countries, exclusive of all Nations whatever, during the War; and, on a Peace with *Spain*, received a Consideration for delivering them up, equivalent to the Expences of the whole War in the *West-Indies*: But all

is well, that Ends well. In the mean
Time I am,

SIR,

Jamaica,
Ann. Dom.
1742.

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

JAMES HOUSTOUN.

POSTSCRIPT.

I CAN'T slip this Opportunity of acquainting you, that some Time ago there was a grand Council of War about this *Baratarian* Expedition; present the Generals *Wentworth* and *Blackney*, Governour *Trelawny*, the Admirals *Vernon* and Sir *Chaloner Ogle*; and they were unanimous in their Opinion, to take Possession and maintain the Island of *Rattan*: But after the Generals *Wentworth* and *Blackney* were gone, there was some Dispute about *impressing the Seamen*; upon which arose some *Billinggate* Words unbecoming Gentlemen, with an Attempt of drawing Swords: The two Combatants were Go-

vernour

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vernour Trelawny and Sir Chalonier Ogle.
No Blood shed!

SCENE, *The King's House.*

NUMB. II. Page 163.

To His Most Excellent Majesty, the King,
GOVERNOUR, and the Honourable
Court of DIRECTORS, of the Royal
Affiento Company, the humble Memo-
rial of James Houstoun, M. D.

Sheweth,

THAT your *Memorialist* has had the Honour of serving this Honourable Company since the Year 1724, and has seen it under all the Vicissitudes of Fortune, in *Peace* and *War*; wherefore he thinks it his indispensable Duty, as your oldest Servant abroad, to lay before *your Majesty*, and the *Honourable Court of Directors*, the State of the Company's Trade abroad, with the Causes of its Decay; or total Ruin, if not timely prevented, to the great Disadvantage and irretrievable Loss of

of national Commerce in general, and the *Affiento Trade* in particular.

THE first and principal Cause is, the *open Violation* of publick Faith, in the Execution of Treaties, between the two Nations: For, by the very first Article of the *Affiento Contract*, her *Britannick Majesty* does oblige herself by the Persons whom she shall appoint, “ To introduce
“ 144,000 *Negroes (Piezas de India)* in-
“ to *Spanish America*, within the Space
“ of *thirty Years*, to begin on the first of
“ *May, 1713.*”

Now the *Company* has paid the Duty for the whole Number at the Court of *Madrid*, and not introduced one half of that Number, for the Time past, after the Proportion of 4800 *per Annum*. And, in Case of Interruption, by a War between the two Crowns, there is a reasonable Time allowed for the Introduction of the whole Number in Time of Peace, *Duty* free without doubt, till the whole Number shall be compleated.

By

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BY the XLth Article of the *Assiento Contract*, " in case of War between the two
" Crowns, the Company are to have a
" Year and a half to withdraw their Ef-
" fects from *Spain* and the *Indies*:" But
this was not at all observed; they were
not allowed a *Day* and a half; nay, I may
truly say, not an *Hour* and a half: For
upon the first Notice of a Rupture, the
Company's Effects were immediately seized,
and, which was worse, never returned
upon a Peace, though stipulated and or-
dered by Treaty; which I am positive of,
on my certain Knowledge, has been the
Case in these three last Ruptures with
Spain.

BY the XLth Article, " his *Catholick*
" Majesty dispenses, in favour of this *Assi-*
" *ento*, with all Laws, &c. contrary here-
" unto for 30 Years; and allows three
" Years more for gathering in their Debts,
" &c." Whereas, upon the first Notice
of a Rupture, he publishes an Edict, upon
the severest Penalties, to deliver up all
Goods

Goods and Effects belonging to the *British*, into his Custody.

THE xivth Article of the *Affiento* "strictly forbids all *Vice Roys*, Governours, " &c. from detaining the Ships or Vessels " of this *Affiento*, upon any Pretence " whatever, but shall give their Aid " and Assistance in their Release." This Article has been frequently broke through, (of which I have sufficient Proofs) which as yet have remained without any Redress.

By Article xv. " Neither shall the said " *Vice Roys*, Governours, &c. lay an Embargo on, or seize any of the Effects " belonging to this *Affiento*, nor search the " Houses of the Factors, except on Proof " of some unlawful Importation; and " then not without the Concurrence of " the Judge Conservator." This Article has been likewise infringed, by laying an Embargo on the *Company's* Effects at Exportation, in Time of profound Peace, at *Cartagena*, in the Years 1732, 1733, and with-

Dr. HOUSTOUN's *Memoirs*. 411

without the least Reason given for so doing, and the *Company's* Vessels detained in Harbour for some Months, which I was Eye-witness to, without so much as saying, Why? or, Wherefore?

By Article XIX. "His *Catholick* Majesty undertakes, upon his Faith and Royal Word, to cause all the Articles of the *Assiento* to be observed." I do assert, that his *Catholick* Majesty's Faith and Royal Word has been forfeited in almost every Article of the *Assiento*.

AND the only Remedy is, at the very first Breach, to make *Reprizals* immediately, and then complain and redress full-handed: There's no other Way of dealing with a dilatory, chicaning *Spanish* Court in *Europe*, and an absolute *Spanish* Governour in the *Indies*, to the last Degree countenanced by his Court, who not only exercises that Power over their own People, but even over the *Company's* Servants; who ought to live amongst them without Controul; and there's no convincing them
of

of their pernicious and audacious Errors, so as to expect any Redress for Injuries or Grievances, but by the ultimate and prevailing Argument, *Powder and Shot*; which, if well applied, seldom or never fails: And,

Of two Evils, we ought to chose the least.

ANOTHER, and none of the least Causes, are the *Divisions* amongst ourselves, as well at Home as Abroad: The Bane of all *Britons*!

Divide & Impera!

And, for ought I can learn, this is a Disease without a Remedy at present; but, if there is any at all, it consists in the right Choice of their Servants, who ought to be Men of Understanding and Experience; for, if they know Men, they will soon come to know Things: The *Mystery* does not lie in the *Affiento Trade* itself, but in the People who are concerned in the Management of it, as well at Home as Abroad.

BUT

BUT what was most detrimental to the Commerce of *Great Britain* in general, and the most fatal Blow that ever was given to the *Assiento Trade* in particular, which proved the Ruin of the Trade of the Island of *Jamaica*, was a Contract, made during the War, by Messieurs *Manning and Company*, of the Island of *Jamaica*, with the *Vice King* of the Kingdom of *New Granada*, in the *Spanish West-Indies*, "to supply his Dominions, "during the War with *Negroes*, &c." which was executed by the Mediation of the *French*; notwithstanding the King of *Great Britain*, in his Declaration of War against the *French King*, has strictly forbidden "all his Subjects, to have "any Communication or Correspondence "whatever with the *French King's* Subjects."

THIS Contract was executed thus; there was a *French Vessel* or more, with *French Commanders*, lying at the grand *Barru*, within ten Leagues of *Cartagena*, who receiv'd the *Negroes*, sent from *Jamaica*, in his
own

own Name, then hoisted *French* Colours on board all the Vessels belonging to their Company, and so sailed into the Harbour of *Cartagena* altogether; and under this Pretext they introduced large Quantities of Provisions of all Sorts, &c. And as, no doubt, the *Vice King* felt the Sweets of it, he encouraged them only, and discouraged, nay, strictly forbid, all Manner of Trade with every body else, more particularly the *English*; and he erected a *Gallows* before his Palace, and swore a most solemn Oath,

Por la Leche de la santissima Virgin, that the first *Spaniard*, he caught trading with the *English*, he should be hanged upon that *Gallows*, without Benefit of the Clergy. Notwithstanding they contracted to sell their *Negroes* at an under Rate, 125 Pieces of Eight *per Head*, which was a great deal less than they could buy and transport them for from *Jamaica*, allowing for Mortality, &c. and proved very pernicious to the Commerce of *Great Britain*, and the Trade of *Jamaica*

Jamaica in particular; yet it was very beneficial for those concerned in the *Contract*, as it gave them an Opportunity of introducing large Quantities of Provisions, Prize-goods, &c. whilst our *British* Manufactures lay rotting at *Jamaica*.

But the *Vice King* reaped the greatest Benefit of all; for he marked those very *Negroes* with the King's Mark, and gave them a regular *Despacho*, as introduced by the *Assiento*, (though brought in open Violation of the whole *Assiento Contract*) and sold them to the King of Spain's Subjects, the Inhabitants of the Place, at the same Rate the *Assiento* Company sold their *Negroes* from 280 to 300 Pieces of Eight per Head; so that, at least, he put into his own Pocket 150 Pieces of Eight by each *Negro*, and so of all other Goods in Proportion; instead of its being returned by *British* Subjects to their Mother Country in ready Cash, it now remained in Balance to the *French* and *Spaniards*; which is so much dead Loss to our Mother Country.

try in general, as Subjects of his Britan-
nick Majesty.

BESIDES all this, the Enemy were fur-
nished with large Quantities of Provisions
at very low Prices; *Flour* at seven Pieces
of Eight and a half *per Barrel*, and other
Provisions as cheap in Proportion; which
enabled them to fit out *Privateers*, to de-
stroy our own Trade, which we have had
a late fatal Instance of, five of our trading
Sloops, or Vessels, being all taken at once,
worth at least 100,000 *l. Sterling* prime
cost; whilst those large Exportations
greatly raised the Price of Provisions at
Jamaica, which must prove the Ruin of
many here; and *London* will feel the dead
Weight of all at last. And now I must
observe, if they are not supplied with *Ne-
groes* and Provisions by the *English*, I am
sure there is no Country can supply them;
and to prevent the digging of their *Mines*,
would be effectually depriving them of the
principal Sinews of War, *Cash*.

YOUR Memorialist humbly begs leave
to

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to lay these Matters of Facts at your Royal Feet, not by way of Complaint, but Information; being very sensible, that, after *your Majesty* had used all the persuasive Arguments, that could possibly be used, in Honour and Justice to your injured Kingdoms, to prevent the great Effusion of Blood, and Expence of immense Treasure, in destructive War, Your Majesty was absolutely forced to have recourse to the *Ultima Ratio Regum*, to demand and procure just and ample Satisfaction for all Injuries done: Wherefore your *Memorialist* with all your Majesty's good Subjects, who are not Enemies to themselves, and their Country, most earnestly pray for Success to your Majesty's Arms by Sea and Land, till you make your Enemies, and consequently the Enemies of *Great Britain*, your *Foot-stool*: Which particularly is the most fervent Prayer of,

Your MAJESTY'S
Most Loyal, faithful Subject, and
Most obedient, humble Servant,
Jamaica,
An. Dom. 1745. JAMES HOUSTOUN.

E e

THESE

THESE Affairs were brought upon the Carpet before the *Assembly* in *Jamaica*, but they set out on a very wrong Footing, by accusing one *Don Pedro de Estrada*, whom *Mr. Manning* at that Time entertained in his House, of being a Spy and an Informer, amongst the *Spaniards*, a Matter impossible to be proved before any Court of Judicature, unless they had intercepted his Letters, or informed one against another. This *Don Pedro de Estrada*, a *Frenchman* by Birth, but passed for a *Spaniard*, was one who belonged to the *New Assiento Company*, established at the *Havanna*, a very proper Instrument for the *French* and *Spaniards* to make use of to serve their own Purposes.

IF they had gone rightly to work, the Charge ought to have lain on the Delivery of those *contraband Goods*, and the Proof for it, the *French* and *Spaniards* Receipts for them, which must have appeared in their Accounts, and so would have been easily proved; though it might have carried along with it the Sting of the ignominious

minious Name of an *Informer*, or *Betrayer* of *Confiança*, which is prohibited to them under a most severe Penalty. And his *Catholick* Majesty himself, in his Edicts that he publishes for seizing of *contraband Goods*, says, *La quinta parte al vil Denunciader*, "the fifth Part of the Seizure "I give to the *villainous Informer*." Who would then execute that *villainous Office*? But Proofs are of little or no Validity, when the *great Lord* of *Jamaica* appears; there his *Numbers* prevail greatly?

NUMB. III. Page 193.

To the *honourable Sir JOHN EYLES, Knt.*
and *Bart. SUB-GOVERNOR of the South-*
Sea Company.

Hon. Sir,

EVEN at this Distance, we must be sensible of the great Load of *Business* you have upon your Hands, which makes me forbear troubling you so often as my *Inclination* and *Duty* lead me, to

acknowledge the many Obligations I lie under to you.

ESTEEM is commonly judged by the *Warmth of Expression*, when they have it not in their Power to shew it, by *Actions*. I may be deficient through Faintness of Expression, but the greatest Pleasure I desire on Earth is an Opportunity of trying my Zeal and Gratitude in your Service; at the Time I am sensible, that all Acknowledgments of this kind must be ungrateful to a Gentleman, who, by his innate Generosity, seems to receive the Obligations he confers.

WE are under some Concern here, lest the vexatious Troubles, and ungrateful Returns you daily meet with, should justly provoke you to shake off the Government of the *South-Sea Company*. I only beg leave to observe, the more *Malice* and *Envy* exert themselves, the brighter will *Honour* and *Integrity* shine. But, if such a Misfortune should happen to the Company, I answer for myself in particular,

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as the meanest of their Servants, and I dare likewise say for their principal ones here, instead of a Pleasure, it will be a great Pain to continue in their Service; for they'll soon find all go to ruin. To say more perhaps might be uneasy to you, and to say less would be unjust in him, who is, with the utmost Gratitude and Respect,

Cartagena, in America, Feb. 4, 1733.

Sir, Your most obliged and

Obedient, humble Servant,

JAMES HOUSTOUN.

NUMB. IV. Page 205.

To the honourable Court of DIRECTORS of
the South-Sea Company.

Gentlemen,

AS I have not the Honour to be
known to this honourable Court of

Directors, nor the Pleasure of being personally acquainted with any one Gentleman of the *Direction*, I presume to beg Leave, Gentlemen, to give you a short Detail of my Story, and humbly pray you to take my Case under your Consideration, as I depend entirely on your Justice, Honour, and Generosity.

IN the Year 1724, by ample Certificates and Recommendations, from the President and other Members of the College of *Physicians*, and some of the most eminent Surgeons in *London*, the then *honourable Court of Directors* were pleased to appoint me *Surgeon* to the *honourable Company's Factory at Cartagena*.

I HAVE been continued in the Service, by all the succeeding *Courts of Directors*, without the least Blemish in my Character, and have behaved myself agreeable to my Station in all Respects, as appears by the Approbation of all the *honourable Company's Servants*, who served as my Cotemporaries abroad.

I HAVE been at great Expences in fitting myself out twice (now thrice) in the honourable *South-Sea Company's* Service, and returning Home; and sustained great Losses by the many *Reprisalias*, and since; of which I only beg Leave to mention one Instance: I covenanted with the *honourable Company*, by Counter-covenants with the *honourable Court of Directors*, to furnish your Factory at *Cartagena* with all proper Medicines for 200 Pieces of Eight *per Annum*, which is much cheaper than is paid for any one of the rest of the Factories; and accordingly I supplied them with the freshest and best Medicines from *London*, and had just wrote for a new Supply for the Use of the Factory, to the Value of 200 *lb. Sterling* and upwards, when I was recalled; so that they now lie perishing at *Jamaica* to my great Loss.

AND as my Bread depends entirely on the Credit and Reputation I have gained in my Profession, for I know no underhand Dealings, I have not meddled with any Business, that I cannot publicly

avow to the whole World, and this *honourable Company*, who have reaped the Benefit of my Labour; for, out of 4000 *Negroes*, in three Year's Time, with the small Pox, and several other epidemical Distempers amongst them we have lost but thirty-six: The *Spaniards* have likewise reaped the Benefit of my Profession as appears by a Letter from the Bishop of *Cartagena*, in the Name of the whole Inhabitants there, to his Excellency the Conde of *Montijo*, his *Catholick Majesty's* Ambassador in *London*.

AFTER all these my Sufferings, I must own, Gentlemen, I think it not a little hard, to be turned out of my Employ, without the least Reason, previous Notice, or Warning given; which is always given to the meanest *Domestick* Servant; and, after ten Years faithful Service, to find myself in worse Circumstances than the Day I engaged in the *Company's* Service.

WHEREFORE I hope, Gentlemen, that

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that you'll be pleased to favour me with your Vote and Interest, for the Payment of my Sallary due, from the 20th of *June*, 1729, to the 21st of *March*, 1730, yet unpayed; notwithstanding all the Company's Servants, upon the same Footing and Establishment with me, have been paid for that Time, and I made the only Exception. And I humbly hope for your farther Favour, in some Allowance for my Expences in coming Home, in Obedience to your Orders; and also, that you will be pleased to continue me in the *Honourable Company's* Service to the Vacancy at *la Vera Cruz*, where I am ready and willing to serve the Honourable Company, till I am able to recover my Effects: And am, with all Submission and Respect,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient, and

Faithful humble Servant,

JAMES HOUSTOUN.

NUMB.

On a Bill of Exceptions.

THE Exceptions ought to be put in Writing, *sedente Curia*, in the Presence of the Judge who tried the Cause, and signed by the Counsel on each Side; then the Bill must be drawn up, and tendered to the Judge that tried the Cause, in order to be sealed by him when signed: There goes out a *scire Facias*, to the same Judge, *ad cognoscendum Scriptum*, and that is made Part of the Record; and the Return of the Judge, with the Bill itself, must be entered on the Issue-Roll; and, if a *Writ of Error* be brought, it is to be returned as Part of the Record.

THERE was not one of these Articles legally performed, yet it passed *pro re nata*: They went on, as you see in the Page above signified.

NUMB. VI. Page 325.

For THOMAS HILL, *Esq;* Counsellor at
Law.

S I R,

I N Obedience to a Commission, from the grand Court of Judicature, appointing Messieurs *Patrick Adam, Samuel Johnston, and Wahond Fearon*, Commissioners, to audit, adjust and report certain Accounts, depending between the Hon. *Edward Manning, Esq;* and *James Houstoun*, accordingly the foresaid Commissioners met at the House of *Laurence Brodbelt*, in *Kingston*, December 7, 1745, in order to proceed to Business; but, at the Request of the said *Manning*, Defendant in this Cause, they adjourned to the 10th of the aforesaid Month, when they met again according to Adjournment at the aforesaid House; when and where appeared one *Alexander Graham*, who said he appeared on behalf of the Defendant,
Manning,

Manning, who told the Commissioners, there could be nothing done, for Mr. *Morse* was not in Town, and Mr. *Manning* was not ready: Notwithstanding he very well knew, that there was due Notice legally given to Mr. *Manning*. Then he (the said *Graham*) took up the Commission, that lay upon the Table before the Commissioners, and, looking at it, said, *This Commission is not Returnable for this Court*. Then I (*James Houstoun*) asked him, *Why?*—*Why*, said he, *it is signed in August, and cannot be returnable for the same August Court*. Then I (*James Houstoun*) answered, *Don't you see that the Chief Justice has signed it, to be returned for the same August Court? Do you deny his Hand Writing?*—No, replied the said *Graham*, *I don't deny his Hand Writing; a Chief Justice may sign any Commission; but no Chief Justice has any Power or Authority to sign a Commission returnable in so short a Date as this is, with the Commission in his Hand; and the Commissioners inclined to the same Opinion, tho' they knew that there was due and legal*

gal Notice of six Days given to the Defendant, *Manning*.

BUT what the Commissioners boggled at was my Assertion, *That Graham told them, that the chief Justice had no Power or Authority to sign a Commission returnable in so short a Date: Horrid Equivocations!* when at the same time they acknowledge, that they were of the same Opinion themselves: The Design is plain!

NOW I do again assert upon my Honour, and by all that is sacred and good, (if I have Ears, or any Part of the Sense of Hearing left) the very identical Words were, *No chief Justice can give a Commission returnable in so short a Date as that was.* It is indeed said, *No chief Justice*; but, I hope, our Chief Justice, who was then *in Officio*, was one. I am sure I acknowledged him as such, by punctually obeying his Commands with the greatest Patience and Resignation, which proved at the Risk of my Life, Character,

cter, and Fortune ; (too great a Stake to be laid at once :) But if this Commission was legal, and returnable in the limited Time mentioned, why was not due Obedience paid to it ? No ; they did not refuse Obedience, but they must have a new one, Mr. Manning was not ready ; *Nor never will*, said I. Was ever such Contradictions *in terminis* heard of ? Then I asked Graham, *What was to be done with the old Commission ?* He answered, *You may wipe your Arse with it.*

THE Truth of all these Facts I do not only assert, but will burn at a Stake to vouch it, if need require : And now leave them as my last Speech and dying Words, at the Place of my Execution. At the same time I declare to you and the whole World, that I had no Intention of Hurt to our *Custos's* Counsellor, nor his Clerk, Mr. Graham, when I said, “ That Graham argued like a *Wapping-* “ Attorney ; that I believed, the Argu- “ ments he made use of were none of “ his own, but that they came from his “ *Master,*

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“ *Master*, only to shuffle and chicane the
“ Court off; and desired to lay the *Saddle*
“ *on the right Horse*, that the *Counsellor*
“ might have an Opportunity of arguing
“ the Validity of his *Bill of Exceptions*,
“ and the Invalidity of this *Commission*,
“ issued by the Honourable Court, *in*
“ *propria Persona*, before the Chief Ju-
“ stice, who signed the Commission in
“ Court, returnable at that very same
“ Court.” Wherefore I kept out of my
Affidavit the unmannerly Expression of
wipeing my Arse with it, lest it should
have done the young Man Hurt, which
was the farthest from my Intentions.

I SHALL not presume, Sir, to ask
your, or any of my Friends Favour and
Countenance in any Thing that is not
strictly consistent with Honour and Ho-
nesty; I have a sound, tho’ open Breast,
now laid open to two of my greatest de-
clared Enemies, and indeed to all my
Enemies with Daggers in their Hands.
But I comfort myself with,

Magna

Magna est Veritas, & praevalerebit

otherwise Life would be a Burthen to me. I am now aware of all their *Machinations*, and designed *Assassinations*. You have assisted me in my most *oppressive* Distresses here in *Jamaica*; I beg the Continuance of your Favour and Countenance, but no farther than is consistent with strict Honour and Honesty; whenever I swerve from that, I deserve to perish like one taken up by the *Tribunal* of *Inquisition*. In the mean time give me leave to assure you, that I retain a grateful Sense of all your Favours, as you have always behaved to me like a Gentleman, a Friend, and a Lawyer; and nothing shall give me more Pleasure, than an Opportunity of gratefully and thankfully acknowledging the Obligations done to,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

Humble Servant,

JAMES HOUSTOUN,

P. S.

During my Interdictment, in the Month of January, 1745-6.

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P. S. I have not as yet been allowed, notwithstanding my frequent Importunities, to see the Depositions against me; this, methinks, is something like the *Tribunal of Inquisition*,

Punish first, and know your Crime afterwards.

If ever I should be able to see them I'll trouble you, Sir, with my Observations and Considerations on them, as the most remarkable Passage that ever happened to me in the whole Course of my Life, and I am sure the least deserved: But I never could see them; they absolutely and positively refused me a Copy of the Proceedings, nay, they would not so much as allow me a Sight of them, which never was practised in any Court of Judicature in the known World, except the *Tribunal of Inquisition*.

For JOHN BURKE, Esq; Counsellor at
Law.

S I R,

THERE'S a Prosecution just now
carried on against me, with a De-
sign to ruin me entirely, which they
have already done in part; I chuse to
stand it for an Opportunity of exculpating
myself from any Guilt alledged against
me, which I flatter myself in due time
will appear to be a false, spiteful, and ma-
licious Prosecution, as I am conscious to
myself of my own Innocence of the
Crime alledged against me: Though I
have never seen the Indictment or Depo-
sitions against me, (*Inquisition-like*) but I
am fully convinced of my own Actions,
that proceed from a sound Heart, and
guiltless Conscience. This is an Attempt
to assassinate Life, Character, and Fortune
at once, which they have accomplished

in

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in part already: So, Sir, if you are not engaged on the other side, and are pleased to favour me with your Countenance and Advice, give me Leave to assure you, that it shall be most gratefully acknowledged the first Opportunity, by

S I R,

Your most obedient,

*During my Inter-
dictment, in the
Month of Fe-
bruary, 1745-6.*

Humble Servant,

JAMES HOUSTOUN,

F I N I S.



